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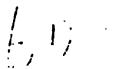
LORD HOTTA

THE
PIONEER DIPLOMAT OF JAPAN

BY
HENRY SATOH
" "
AUTHOR OF "AGITATED JAPAN."
&c., &c.

(Second Edition)

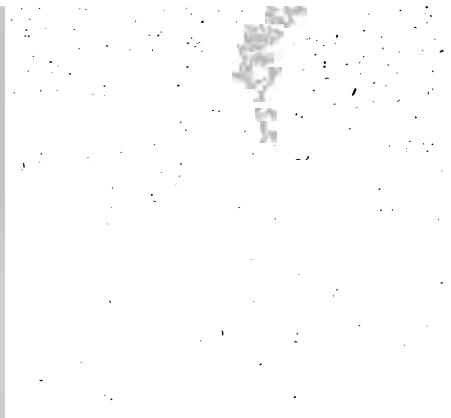
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1908



PREFACE

BY

COUNT HAYASHI LL. D. ETC., ETC.

(*Translation*)

Lord Hotta is a great figure which adorned the closing history of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It was he who at a time when anti-foreign principles and the policy of seclusion were almost about to carry the day, had the foresight and courage to set public opinion at defiance and open diplomatic negotiations with the American Envoy. It was he also who by his advanced knowledge and penetration, coupled with strong conviction, succeeded in saving the nation from dangers of the gravest nature, thereby placing the national policy on a firm and lasting foundation. Towards the end of his political career, his influence not only began to wane, but he himself had to fall a victim to the enmity of his opponents. His political career ended in humiliation in the eyes of the public, yet in the clearness of his vision and the strength of his convictions, he stands unique and peerless among his contemporaries.

Books written by foreign authors treating of the history of Japan's foreign relations toward the close of the Tokugawa Government, are not scarce, but Mr. Satoh's former work, "Agitated Japan," was the first book of the kind written in English by my own country-

PREFACE.

man. When that book was published I appreciated the author's effort and was delighted to find in him a fellow-thinker, but while welcoming the book, I felt that it was incomplete as a history of Japan's diplomatic relations, for it was devoted solely to the life of Lord Ii Kamon-no-kami. It was Lord Hotta himself who as the pioneer diplomat, in defiance of blind public opinion, sat with Mr. Townsend Harris in the conference chamber, and laid the foundation of Japan's foreign relations.

Mr. Satoh called on me one day and said that he was engaged in writing the life of Lord Hotta, and a month later he told me that the book was nearly ready to go to press. I felt delighted to find him so earnest in his study of Japan's diplomatic relations at the close of the Yedo Government, the result of which he has now succeeded in publishing through his new book which completes the history of the period by treating of the side left untouched in his "Agitated Japan."

The town of Sakura being my birth-place, and my father Sato Taizen having been in the service of Lord Hotta, as a physician of the Dutch School, and also frequently consulted by him on foreign affairs, this book is naturally reminiscent for me of by-gone days and associations; and it is with great pleasure that I comply with the author's request for a preface by stating here the feelings I entertain towards his work.

(Signed) Count TADASU HAYASHI.

July 1908.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

With sincere apologies for my audacity in writing the biography of a noble character, in an acquired language, of which my knowledge is necessarily deficient, I venture herewith to explain my motive in thus boldly committing to paper some account of the great and self-sacrificing life of the Hero of this little volume, in spite of my inadequate qualifications for the work.

Some years ago, while I was in America, I prepared a brief epitome in English of the life of Lord Ii Kamon-no-kami Naosuke by Mr. Shimada Saburo. It was afterward published in book-form after being kindly revised by Dr. William Elliot Griffis of Ithaca. The book was published in Tokio in 1895 under the title of "Agitated Japan."

As I was writing that book, I felt myself in duty bound to write in English a biography of Lord Hotta also, for to write the life of Lord Ii as a diplomat of the Tokugawa Shogunate without adding to it one on the work of Lord Hotta, who had to bear the actual brunt of the political war, might expose me to the suspicion of partiality to the memory of Lord Ii Naosuke. Having thus accepted this self-imposed obligation, I have been await-

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INTRODUCTION.

HOTTA MASAYOSHI,* not being the first born and heir-apparent by birth, had been brought up very much in the same manner as the children of the clan's retainers. His youth was consequently quite a stranger to the pomp and luxury usually attending the juvenile life of the heir-apparent of a *Daimio*. Brought up in a simple style, and conscientiously educated under able tutors both in literature and military art, he was eventually the possessor of the advantages generally refused to the young sons of a *Daimio* who were surrounded with the glories and wealth of the highly privileged family to which they had been born.

The life of privation, for it was such when compared with that of others of his rank, well equipped him for the difficult and stormy life which was in store for him, both as the reformer of his own clan, and as a minister of the Shogunate at the most critical period in the history of Japan.

Since the establishment of the powerful Shogunate under the wise administration of the Great Prince Ieyasu, Japan has been enjoying an unbroken period of

* In transliterating the names of persons, the Japanese order has been followed in which the family name always stands first.

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court officials ; while with the Ashikaga degeneracy, the national power was revived under the leadership of such names as Kusunoki Masashige and Nitta Yoshisada. The period of internal strife which followed the fall of the Ashikaga Shogunate, produced such figures as Ota Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi under whose iron hands peace was restored to the whole country, though its duration was destined to be short-lived.

The work of establishing a long and unbroken peace throughout the Empire, was reserved for the Founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Prince Iyeyasu. But the foundation on which he had erected his governmental structure, firm and unassailable as it was, yet formed no exception to the experiences of the Fujiwaras and of the Ashikagas, for it came to be gradually undermined by habit of luxury and effeminacy. The corruption had gone too deep to be arrested when the subject of this narrative was born. But the waning of the power of the Tokugawa Shogunate did not mean the decadence of Japan's national strength. It has since been proved that it was on account of the weakness of the Government, but not of the nation, that Japan at that time presented a sorry figure in her dealings with foreign countries. The Tokugawa authorities were weak and demoralized, but the essence of the national spirit found careful custodians among some of the *Daimios* who had been independent feudal lords, but were obliged to take oath of vassalage to the Tokugawa Shogunate during its hegemony. The most noted of these were the clans (or *Daimiates*) of

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Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen. It would be too much to say, however, that these four clans were the only repositories of the essence of the *Bushido*. The cause of their fame is to be found in the fact that they had taken the most prominent part in the great work of overthrowing the Tokugawa Shogunate and restoring the Throne to the actual rulership over the whole Empire.

The worm of corruption and moral degeneracy had eaten deep into the marrow of the Tokugawa Government as already stated, and the noble characters still found loyal to the Shogunate were not numerous enough to arrest the fall of the government. Several attempts at reform had been made by some of the ministers of the Shogunate, but none of them succeeded. Especially noteworthy is the drastic reform attempted by Mizuno Tadakuni, generally known as Echizen-no-Kami. He was the Dean of the Roju or ministerial council of the Shogunate, and the subject of this story was his colleague for two years. Mizuno tried to exterminate the habit of luxury which was universal among the citizens of Yedo (Tokio). He issued an order prohibiting the use of silk, tortoise-shell, gold and silver wares, and authorized the officials to confiscate them whenever any person was found in possession of any of the forbidden articles. Many evils followed in the wake of this recklessly bold administration. Lord Hotta Masayoshi, though strongly sympathising with Mizuno in his effort to kill the habit of luxury and ease, did not agree with him in the means applied for

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effecting the purpose, and had to resign from the office in 1843.

The Draconian headman of the Shogunate's Council met very strong opposition from the ladies of the Shogun's court, and finally succumbed to the pressure brought upon him by the influence of the fair opponents, and he, also, had to resign from his office.

Not only was the Shogun's Government alive to the necessity of internal reforms, but it was also brought face to face with a great problem which had never before existed. It was the pressure from without. The crisis was reached when the Shogun's Government had to decide whether to refuse the proposal made by the United States to open the country for commerce and navigation, or to adhere to the time-honoured policy of seclusion. By this time, not a few scholars, through Dutch books, had come to know something about the countries of the West. They knew it to be impossible to exclude foreigners entirely from the country. They also knew that an armed resistance alone could prevent the foreign intrusion, but at the same time they fully realized the impossibility of success against the western arms with the old style weapon of the country. Some advanced scholars and politicians boldly advocated the advisability of opening the country for foreign intercourse, but they had to do so at the risk of their lives, for not a few were beheaded by the Shogunate for recommending the policy of non-exclusion. The sentiment against the open policy was so strong and well-nigh universal that a mere semblance even

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of favouring the policy meant social ostracism. No greater disgrace could be suffered by the Land of the Gods than its surface being trodden under the feet of the western Barbarians. Such was the ruling sentiment throughout the length and breadth of the whole Empire. The officials of the Shogun's Government who had been made acquainted with the progress of science and of military art in the West knew quite well that nothing could stop the current of the world's tendencies, and that Japan, sooner or later, would have to yield to the foreigners' demand to open intercourse with them in commerce and navigation. But nobody dared openly admit and argue the impossibility of excluding foreigners from the country.

With these great political issues before them, the internal reforms and the pressure from foreign nations, the ministers of the Shogunate found themselves powerless to cope with the questions of the day. They followed an evasive policy in dealing with diplomatic affairs. They would have invited the humiliation of absolute breach of faith, had not Ii Naosuke (Kamon-no-Kami) taken the bold step of signing the Kanagawa Treaty with the United States' Representative, for which, however, he forfeited his life at the hands of cruel assassins.

A student of the modern history of Japan should bear in mind in this connection, that exclusion of foreigners was used by the opponents of the Tokugawa Shogunate as a weapon against the Government. Many of the opposition camp were well advanced in

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their knowledge of the western countries and were fully aware of the impossibility of Japan remaining secluded for any length of time. But for the sake of effecting their purpose of overthrowing the Shogunate, they utilized the ignorance and the prevailing sentiment of the times to their best advantage. Many of them adopted the popular platform of exclusion against foreigners, only to forsake it when they should come to power. To illustrate the point, an incident might be cited. The British Legation at the Tōzenji Temple, near Shinagawa, was attacked one night in 1864 by a band of those claiming themselves to be *ronins*.* The building was set on fire, [but fortunately none of the members of the legation was killed,] the assailants being dispersed by the guards placed on duty by the Government. Who could imagine that the ringleaders of this anti-foreign barbarity are now among the most honoured class of the Japanese statesmen, popularly known as the *Genro*, or Elder Statesmen? Among this gang of ruffians were no less luminaries of modern Japan than Marquis Inouye and Prince Ito! They entertained no enmity against foreigners, but knowing that any act of violence against foreigners would certainly invite a pressure by the foreign government on the Shogunate, and that the greater the pressure, the sooner the Yedo Government would fall, they joined in the assault. They called themselves *ronins* in order to save their master

1863
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* Samurais not in service of any Daimio.

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from implications when they should be caught by the Shogunate's authorities.

The readers, it is hoped, have thus been brought in touch with the prevailing sentiment and state of affairs with which the statesmen of Japan toward the end of the Shogunate had to cope. Nothing short of a miracle could successfully extricate any Government from the inevitable fall, when beset with internal dissensions and a strong pressure from without. It was just at this critical period that the subject of this book assumed the heavy responsibility, first as the reformer of his own Clan, and then as a minister of the weakened Tokugawa Shogunate.

Onerous and difficult was the work expected of Lord Hotta as the Foreign Minister of the Yedo Government. Only a great mind, indifferent to circumstances and actuated by a firm conviction born of an unerring foresight, could grapple with the difficult political problems pregnant of dangers to the national safety. Lord Hotta by his education and natural gifts was eminently fitted for the duty which he so ably discharged in spite of the profound ignorance and blind prejudices then surrounding the Courts of Kioto and of Yedo. All the foundation for admitting Japan into the comity of nations was his handiwork, and in the midst of strong internal commotions verging on internecine wars which would certainly be followed by foreign invasions, Ii Kamonno-Kami appeared on the scene, only to give the finishing touch to the work consummated by the conscientious labours of the subject of this little book.

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Heaven withheld from our hero the blessing of witnessing the fruits of his wise policy, for he died at the age of fifty-five, in the very same year that Kagoshima was bombarded by the British guns. It is very sad that he had to share the fate of many other great statesmen, to whom the blessing of seeing with their own eyes the ideal of their policy realized even in the slightest degree, was totally refused.

CHAPTER I.

HOTTA as the Lord of the Sakura Clan.—Watanabe Osamu his tutor and adviser.—The work of reform nearly completed.—Lord Hotta now free to engage in a more extensive sphere of usefulness.

HOTTA BITCHIU-NO-KAMI MASA YOSHI who was first named Masahiro was the youngest son of Hotta Sagami-no-Kami Masatoki. He was born in Yedo (Tokio) in the 8th month of the 7th year of Bunka (1810 A.D.).* His brother being without an issue, he was afterward adopted as the heir of his brother Masachika who was the Lord of the Clan of Sakura,† and on the demise of the latter, Masayoshi succeeded to the Daimiate with an income of 110,000 *koku* of rice (one *koku*=5.13 bushels), at the age of sixteen (actually fifteen). As a man, he was loyal and sincere in his motives, and mild and gentle in his temperament. He had a perfect control of his emotions, and was never known to show his feelings under any circumstance. Physically he was of a stout build and commanding appearance. Fond of learning, he loved men of worth, and was himself a close student of the science of state.

Lord Hotta is described by Mr. Harris in his

* The lunar calendar use in was in Japan until 1872.

† In the Province of Shimosa. Sakura is the name of the town where stood the Castle of the Daimio Hotta. Sakura is now only a few hours run by rail from Tokio.

CHAPTER I.

Journal thus : " The Minister is about thirty-five years old, short in stature, of a pleasant and intelligent countenance, and his voice is low and rather musical."

On his accession to the chieftaincy of his Clan, he found the condition of his retainers in a deplorable state, and the abuse of authority was freely indulged in by those in power. He appointed Watanabe Osamu as his tutor and afterward entrusted him with the government of his Clan, thereby effecting many reforms which resulted in the general amelioration of the pitiable condition in which he had found his Clan at the time of his accession. Watanabe Osamu was also called Shishi and Neiken. He was not only an accomplished scholar in history, literature and Chinese poetry, but was also a wise and capable man of business of no ordinary calibre. He was certainly one of the best men of the Clan.

In order to bring up and educate his young master in literature and military art, and to develop in him a character fitted to govern his people, he recommended and engaged as his colleagues two other Chinese scholars, Shibui Jinnojō and Hishikawa Senzo, with whom he took turns in giving lectures on classics to his Lord. He also selected from among the Clansmen those proficient in the different branches of military art to instruct the young Ruler. Thus by ceaseless vigilance of Osamu, a wise and strong character came to be developed in the subject of this brief history. A strong sense of confidence and of mutual reliance thus gradually grew up between the Tutor and his pupil, and

CHAPTER I.

many notable reforms and improvements were effected in the government of the Clan.

The first step of the much needed reform was dismissing the principal officials of the Clan such as Shoda Magobei, Iriye Hikozaemon, Wakabayashi Mokuzzaemon and some others. Osamu was now the sole manager of the Clan's government, and was entrusted with the onerous duty of re-adjusting and reforming the finance. Confucius taught that food and raiment well supplied (or necessaries of life supplied), man comes to observe his social obligations, and in pursuance of this teaching, Osamu bent his energy toward improving the poverty-stricken condition of the Clansmen, so as to prepare them for receiving both military and literary education. Osamu was firmly convinced that nothing could be effected before the Clan retainers were adequately supplied with the necessaries of life; and his first aim was directed toward the improvement of the Clan's treasury, out of which the clansmen drew their pensions. In order to place the Finance on a firm basis, the strictest economy was necessary, and for this purpose, Osamu had copious instructions issued to the Clan retainers, condemning and prohibiting useless expenditures necessitated by the customs in all departments of social intercourse. The usage of the times was such that even the tuition of literary or military attainments was not exempt from needless expenditures. Strict limitations were placed on the necessaries of life; regulations were promulgated for limiting the exchange of presents on the occasion of marriage and

CHAPTER I

festival ceremonies. The sense of shame (or moral responsibility) and the strictest economy in everything were made the ruling order of the day. These efforts were visibly rewarded in the rapidly improving condition of the people throughout the Clan. But this was not effected without a struggle ; for the new system met with considerable opposition from different directions ; but the strong determination of the Lord of the Clan firmly supporting the policy initiated by Osamu finally carried the day ; and when Lord Hotta was twenty-four years old (actually twenty-three) having ruled over the Clan for eight years, not a single complaint was heard of the new system of government inaugurated under him. The financial and administrative reforms, it might be said, were now almost completed, and the Lord of Sakura found himself free to devote his energies to a more extensive sphere of usefulness, for it was at this time that the whole country began to be in a state of commotion over the great question of pressure from abroad.

CHAPTER II.

LORD HOTTA's first career as an important official of the central government. His quick promotions. Lord Mizuno, the drastic reformer. Hotta's relation with him. Disagreement between Mizuno and Hotta. The resignation of the latter.

ON the 8th day of the 5th year of Tempo (1834 A.D.) we find Lord Hotta appointed to an important office of the central government, or Shogunate, as one of the Governors of Religious Affairs.* It was in the same year that Mizuno Echizen-no-kami Tadakuni was invested with authority as one of the Roju or Council of Ministers of the Yedo Government. Lord Mizuno was keenly alive to the necessity of a drastic reform of the society in general, and was determined to effect the desired improvements. He had heard what Lord Hotta successfully effected in ameliorating the condition of his clansmen, and recommended the removal of Hotta from the Governorship over Religious Affairs to the Delegateship of the Osaka Castle, a very important post where he had to represent the Shogun in that stronghold of great strategic importance. This was in 1837, but before he left for his new post, Hotta received further promotion as one of the Junior Ministers of the Shogunate with the additional duty of Tutor to

* It was on this occasion that Lord Hotta assumed the name of Bitchu-no-Kami. He was first called Sagami-no-Kami, which he changed on account of one of his colleagues bearing the same name.

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the Shogun's Heir-apparent. Upon the demise of the Shogun Iyenari, Lord Mizuno who lost no opportunity in removing obstacles against his intended reform, dismissed from office the favorites of the late Shogun and their partisans who were opposed to his scheme.

The reformer at once commenced his work of renovation with authority invested in him from the new Shogun. He assembled the officials of the Government and instructed them that the old order and institutions of Era of Kioho (1716-35 A. D.) and of Kansei (1789-1800 A. D.) should be revived. This announcement was followed by a full verbal explanation of the intent and purpose of the new regime in which he laid special stress upon the urgent necessity of introducing reforms in all the departments of society. Most drastic measures were inaugurated. Lawsuits and appeals were heard within the hearing of the Shogun: the rapacious habits and insolence of the servants of the Court (of Yedo) were severely checked. (It might be added in this connection that the so-called servants of the Court formed an order by themselves with official approval. They had their heads shaven like bonzes. It was their duty to serve tea to the high officials of the Government, hence the original name of Chabōzu or tea-bonze. Besides, they were a sort of Jack-of-all-trade in the office of the Yedo Castle, and their service was indispensable in many ways. This gave them opportunities to extort from many a Daimio, especially when he was not familiar with the inner usages of the Shogun's Court.) Special headgear

CHAPTER II

worn by the Court servants on their shaven heads were prohibited. Lotteries were interdicted. A strict limitation was placed on the decoration and furniture in use by the farming class. Barbershops in villages were closed up. The cakes and candies imported from Yedo were forbidden to be sold in rural districts. Most strenuous efforts were made to check the luxurious habits of the mercantile class. High-priced cakes and candies, costly female dress, and dancing costumes were ordered out of existence. Infringements were severely punished. Cases were not infrequent when people were stripped naked on the streets by officers of the government, because they were found dressed above the indicated standard. Professional hair-dressers for women lost their license and every woman had to dress her own hair. Actors and actresses were forbidden to live except in quarters set apart for their abode. The number of *yose* or houses of public entertainment was limited only to fifteen throughout the City of Yedo. Teaching of dramatic music to women (on the *samisen* or Japanese guitar) was prohibited. The hiring of the histrionic artists of Yedo by other towns and cities was not permissible. The sale of novels, story books, and sign-boards decorated with gold or silver, were among the things prohibited. The men and women of the mercantile class were not permitted to wear a dress other than the one made of the three regulation stuffs of the spun silk, cotton, and hemp. The use of such fabrics as *habu'aye*, crepe, satin, and imported silks (including imitations) for *obi* (sash), collar, or fringes

CHAPTER II.

appointed to the responsible position hoping to secure his distinguished cooperation ; but to his great regret Lord Mizuno having found some of his colleagues who disagreed with him on the policy followed, he (the messenger) had been ordered to say that it would seriously affect the official position of Lord Hotta if he should side himself with the dissentient members. Lord Hotta could not be blind to the hint given him in this manner. He was quite prepared for the occasion. He made up his mind to tender his resignation, but before taking this final step, he acquainted his trusted adviser Osamu who was then in Sakura, with his intention in order to get his counsel. Osamu at once drew up a memorandum in answer to his master's enquiry, in which he strongly opposed his resignation. The memorandum was forwarded by one of the retainers, Arai by name. According to Osamu, the time was inopportune for resignation, for the most important event in the government of the Shogunate was in sight. By that event is meant the personal visit of the Shogun to the Nikko Temple* for the purpose of worship. This event was expected to take place in the 4th month of that year. It would be inexcusably unbecoming and inadvisable for a Minister of the Shogunate to cause a change in the personnel of the Ministry at a time when that important event was so near at hand ; and therefore Osamu advised his master to remain in his post in spite of the ill-feelings entertained by Lord

* The Temple where the Founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Prince Ieyasu, is deified.

CHAPTER II

Mizuno. The scholarly adviser also dwelt in the memorandum on the necessity of subordinating personal feelings to the stern requirements of his highly responsible position as one of the Ministers of the Shogunate, and he also stated that a person of Lord Hotta's position must not appear as if he had succumbed to a threat by a mere scholar. Osamu would see his master follow the Shogun in his journey to Nikko which was then considered a rare honour and privilege, and on a successful conclusion of this honourable mission, he said that it was never too late to tender resignation by pleading want of health; for in that way, nothing would prevent his master from resuming the office whenever the opportunities presented themselves.

Lord Hotta followed the advice of his faithful counsellor, and tendered his resignation after the Shogun's worship at the Nikko Temple had been completed. The resignation was accepted in the 9th. month of 1843. Lord Hotta was now a private *Daimio* with his seat in the Yedo Castle in the Chamber of Waiting. (All the *Daimios* were given seats in different Chambers of the Castle according to their respective standings, and very minute rules were observed in determining the grade of rank among the privileged nobility.)

CHAPTER III.

LORD HOTTA busy with reforms in his Clan. Education encouraged. Students sent out to study. Scholars invited. Study of Dutch encouraged. Western tactics studied. Military system re-organized. Instruction concerning the introduction and adoption of the new system. Arrival of the American Fleet at Uraga.

Relieved of his onerous official duties in the central government, and with an enlarged experience in administrative work, Lord Hotta was now able to devote his whole energy to the much needed advancement of his Clan's welfare. He returned to his Castle of Sakura early in 1844 and at once set himself to the work of introducing further improvements into the different departments. For that purpose, he built an educational institution for promoting and advancing the mental and moral training of his clansmen, besides numerous improvements and reorganizations in the work of the Clan administration in general. Among the most noteworthy innovations undertaken was the encouragement extended for the study of foreign affairs. In an age of proud seclusion, and at a time when it was treason to become intimate with the affairs of foreign barbarians, only a keen foresight supported by an indomitable courage and a firm conviction, could set the public sentiment and opinion at defiance, and openly commence the study of foreign arts and science.

There are two facts on record that led Lord Hotta

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to institute the study of foreign things. One of them was a foreign clock which on a careful examination he found to be a thing of very elaborate and clever workmanship. The other was the recovery of his trusted Osamu from a cancer which had been given up by physicians generally as hopeless. The recovery was effected by a physician of the Dutch school which was not much in favour in those days, and the cure was complete. These two facts must have strongly impressed him, for by taking the new step in introducing foreign arts and science, he was aware of the danger to which he was exposing himself in inviting the hatred and suspicion of the Ultra-conservative elements in the Central Government. It must be remembered in this connection that while he was yet in the service of the Shogunal Government, he did not shrink from the danger he was facing, for he sent out at his own expense two physicians of his Clan, Nishi Jumbo and Kaburaki Sen-an, to Nagasaki to study under a medical professioner of the Dutch school, Tsuboi Shindo by name. Sen-an went to Nagasaki in 1841. Completing his study in the following year, he returned to Sakura toward the end of 1842. A medical institution was at once opened and supported by the Clan's treasury with Sen-an at its head. Besides medical studies, the Dutch books on various subjects were studied. The study of the Dutch language and science at the Sakura Clan dates from that time.* Lord Hotta also took

* When nearly all of the *Daimios* were happy in their self-sufficiency and disdained anything foreign, the Sakura Clan presented a notable exception in

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into his service a renowned physician of the Dutch school, Sato Taizen† by name, for his personal medical adviser. The adopted son of this doctor known as Sato Shochiu afterward distinguished himself in his profession, and was honoured with the Degree of Great Doctorate some years after the Restoration of the Imperial authority by the abdication of the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns in 1868. (This family of Sato established a universal fame in the medical world. The famous Surgeon-General Doctor Sato who attended on Li Hung Chang by the special order of the Emperor of Japan when the Chinese Ambassador was assaulted and wounded in Shimonoseki in 1895, comes of the same stock, being a son of the Great Doctor Sato Shochiu.)

Along with the introduction of medical science through the Dutch source, Lord Hotta sent one of his clansmen, Saito Sekigoro, to study the military art of the West under Takashima Shirodayu. Takashima

thus opening the study of foreign science, a penetrating foresight seldom to be seen in any period of the history of any country.

† The father of Count Hayashi Tadasu who concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and who now holds the portfolio of the Foreign Affairs (1908).

Count-Hayashi once told the author that his father, Dr. Sato Taizen, who, by his study of the Dutch books, had become convinced of the impossibility of maintaining the policy of seclusion any longer, found Yedo quite uncongenial to his advanced ideas. It was very different, however, with Sakura where the enlightened mind of Watanabe Osamu, the trusted adviser of Lord Hotta, attracted many a scholar of advanced ideas to that little town. Dr. Sato Taizen willingly accepted the invitation to come and serve as Lord Hotta's medical adviser. While serving under his new master, his work was not simply medical for he was consulted on diverse subjects relating to foreign affairs, so that in one sense Dr. Sato was also an adviser on foreign relations.

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was at first in Nagasaki, but had come up to Yedo at the invitation of the Shōgunal Government. He had learned the art from a Dutch professor. Saito Sekigoro who was sent to study under him was himself a member of the family in the Sakura Clan which had an established reputation in the art of gunnery. On learning further that Takashima's art was transmitted to Egawa Tarozaemon, the magistrate of Nirayama in the Province of Izu, Lord Hotta again sent Saito Sekigoro and three others to learn more of the art under him. On the return of these students, a training school for the western gunnery was established where the clansmen were taught and trained at the public expense. (It must be noted that when any student was sent by his Lord to study outside of the clan, his expenses were always paid by his master.)

A clansman, Kimura Guntaro, by name, was found to be very fond of learning and very proficient in his studies. Lord Hotta at once placed him under the tuition of a Dutch school physician of his clan, Sugita Seikio, and made him study Dutch books under the learned physician. Sugita Seikei, a medical professioner as he was, read and studied military books from choice and translated some of them into Japanese. Kimura Guntaro studying under him made remarkable progress in his work. Lord Hotta further ordered him to study and investigate Western tactics, and the efforts of the faithful student were amply rewarded, for in those days of bow and arrows and of match-lock guns, the Sakura Clan could boast of a far-sighted reform in

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dispensing with the time-honoured weapons of war and replacing them with the Western rifles and guns, introducing at the same time the new system of infantry and cavalry formation based on the Occidental method.

A written instruction issued by Lord Hotta for guidance of his clansmen shows how strongly the Western knowledge was in favour in his Clan. The instruction translated into English reads :—

“ Military system is subject to changes. History, ancient and modern, bears witness of the instances of innovations introduced in accordance with the needs of the times. At present, the art of gunnery and the use of muskets are making progress day by day ; and the effects realized thereby are beyond comparison with the art of gunnery transmitted to us from of old. The art of fighting with swords and lances, and also of fighting at close quarters being our forte, it should be learnt with unabated diligence. The art of archery which has played an important part in the military profession since of old, has come to give way before the modern art of gunnery. This fact must be patent to everybody. It is only natural that it should be so. Moreover, the Western art of gunnery having made a remarkable progress, the bow and arrow can never be compared in efficiency with the musket. It has therefore been decided to reorganize the military system after a most careful comparison of the relative merits of the old and modern systems, and also of those in use in the Western countries. The bands of archers, of lancers, and of old style guns are hereby

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abolished. In their place, the Western systems of guns and muskets and also of cavalry are adopted. There shall be three bands of artillery, infantry, and cavalry. These three bands, however, shall not remain in active service from the beginning, but shall be mustered according to requirements. The system now adopted shall be subject to further improvements as necessity therefore may arise. It is desirable that those who have been trained to the art of old gunners should bear with the change which has been necessitated as a result of the efficient service demanded of us by the State. You are exhorted not to adhere obstinately to the custom of old."

Foreign influence became well diffused among the Sakura Clan, but the neighboring Clan of Mito remained obstinately conservative. Mito, however, was not an exceptional case, but rather typical of the public sentiment throughout the Empire. Most of the Daimios were deluding themselves with the happy dream of proud seclusion too sacred to be disturbed by a foreign intrusion, only to be unpleasantly disturbed in their Utopian pleasure by the sudden appearance at Uraga of the American squadron of four ships commanded by Commodore Perry. This was on the 23rd day of the 6th month of the 6th year of Kayei (1853). Perry was the bearer of a letter from the President of the United States asking for the establishment of diplomatic relations for commerce and navigation.

At that time Abe Ise-no-Kami Masahiro was the Dean of the Council of Ministers of the Yedo Govern-

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ment. In the 7th month, he convened a meeting of the Chiefs of the Clans, or Daimios, to whom the translation of the President's letter had already been forwarded for their perusal. With most of the three hundred Daimios, the opening of the country for foreigners was synonymous with a national collapse. The foreigners to them were brutes and barbarians. Their minds were too hardened to admit of any reasoning. The cry of "Down with the Barbarians" was almost unanimous.

CHAPTER IV.

The views of the Daimios on diplomatic questions. General state of unrest caused by the coming of the American ships. Hotta's reply to the Government. Lord Abé promises Perry a reply within a year's time. Perry departs. But internal commotions continue. Lord Abé recommends Hotta to the Deanery of the Ministerial council.

Only a very small minority represented by the Lords of Obama, of Tsuyama, of Uwajima, of Fukuoka, of Nakatsu* and a few others were not carried away by the popular sentiment of expelling foreigners by force. They knew the danger of rashly plunging the country in a war, and were alive to the necessity of opening the country for foreign intercourse. But these Daimios can hardly be said to have been absolutely in favour of opening the country. They would follow that policy only as a temporary measure in order to solve the great problem at issue. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole nation was in a state of turmoil never seen before.

On this occasion, when the Daimios were asked to express their candid opinions, Lord Hotta unhesitatingly pointed out the necessity of opening the country ; and in support of his advocacy, he enumerated three reasons. (It may not be out of place to call the attention of

* The family names of those Lords or Daimios in the order here enumerated are as follows :— Sakai, Matsudaira, Date, Kuroda, Okudaira.

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English readers here to the fact that the submission of any political measure on the part of the Shogunate for general deliberation by the Daimios before its enforcement was a practice *never* followed since the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Consequently the convening of all the Daimios for discussing the nature of the reply to be given to the President of the United States was an entire departure from the traditional policy of the Yedo Government. The authority invested in the Shogun by the Emperor was absolute and autocratic. The departure thus made clearly demonstrates the magnitude of the disturbed state of the whole country over the grave problem of admitting foreigners. The Government of the Shogun was fully aware of the strong opposition existing against opening the country, and would not dare take the whole responsibility upon its own shoulders. The authorities of the Shogunal Government faltered and hesitated before this great question. By seeking the opinions of the Daimios, they simply confessed their own weakness, and thus the power which had held the three hundred Daimios under submission for nearly three centuries was completely undermined.)

The three reasons set forth by Lord Hotta were:— 1stly. Our vessels are too diminutive in size and frail in construction to be placed in opposition against the strong warships used by foreigners; 2ndly. They are experienced in the use of guns, while our arms are totally inadequate to resist them; 3rdly. They have a strong force of well-trained men who

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have fought many battles, while we have been allowing ourselves to be softened by the long reign of peace, leaving our military preparations in a state of inefficiency totally incapable of resisting them. Lord Hotta further argued that a war with foreigners being an impossibility under the prevailing state of the national defense, there could be no alternative but to open the country for trade, and suggested at the same time that a limit should be placed on the duration of time for which the country should remain open, say, for ten years ; should experience during that time prove the policy to be detrimental to the interest of the Empire, Lord Hotta believed that the door could then be closed against foreigners, for by the end of that time, he thought that the national defense would have been adequately improved, if only the period of tranquillity thus secured be utilized to the best advantage for strengthening and increasing military preparations. He also stated that if the experiment should prove profitable to the country, there could be no harm in continuing and maintaining the new policy of keeping the country open for commerce with foreign nations.

Such is the gist of Lord Hotta's contention against the prevailing sentiment of "Japan for the Japanese alone." As a result of his careful investigations, he was quite convinced that Japan could not long remain isolated ; but out of consideration for the prevailing sentiment he suggested the trial with a time limit placed thereon. He also believed that once the country were opened, the opposition by its own obser-

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vations and experiences would gradually become reconciled with the new state of things. Hotta's proposal was certainly a wise and timely expedient.

Lord Abé (Masahiro), the Dean of the Council of Ministers, was strongly in favour of Hotta's proposal, but he hesitated to follow it on account of the powerful opposition with which the whole atmosphere of the Yedo Government was now completely charged. So he resorted to the patchwork policy of sending away the American Ambassador promising him a reply to the President's letter within a year's time, to be delivered at Nagasaki through a captain of a Dutch vessel. Perry assented and left these shores. But his quiet departure gave no solution to the diplomatic question now facing the Yedo Government. It is not too much to say that not even a single soul was found among the Shogunate's officials at that time who could cut this Gordian knot. If there was one, it was the subject of this brief biography, but he was out of office.

Lord Abé saw that the man who could safely be placed at the helm when the ship of state had to be steered through the stormy seas now raging on all sides, was none but the Lord of Sakura. So he recommended his services to the Shogun to supersede him as the Dean of the Ministerial Council, expressing his willingness to take a subordinate position if his services should be retained. On the 9th day of the 10th month of the 2nd year of Ansei (1855) we find Lord Hotta installed in the Deanery of the Yedo Cabinet with Lord Abé next to him in position in the

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same ministry. This conduct of Lord Abé in being willingly superseded in office clearly attests the sincerity of his purpose and also of his recognition of Hotta's superiority in dealing with foreign questions.

Note :— It should be recorded to the credit of Lord Abé that his manly conduct in this instance is rather a rare example in the history of official appointments. The only instance of a similar nature, according to the author's memory, is that of the Late General Viscount Kodama who cheerfully accepted the post of Vice-Chief of the General Staff and forfeited the portfolio of the Home Minister when the war with Russia was fought. The Vice-Chief of the General Staff is equal only to a vice-minister in official rank ; but Kodama completely subordinated his feelings to the call of duty, and thus left behind him a brilliant example.

CHAPTER V.

Townsend Harris arrives in Shimoda. The principle guiding Hotta's diplomacy. His policy announced. Opposition rampant. Hotta's rejoinder to his critics.

In the 7th month of the following year, or 1856, Townsend Harris arrived at Shimoda, in the Province of Izu, as Consul-General of the United States. He informed the Yedo Government of this arrival with full powers to conclude the treaty with the Government of Japan. He also demanded the appointment of a plenipotentiary (on the part of the Japanese Government) to negotiate with him.

On the 17th day of the 10th month of the same year, Lord Hotta received his special appointment to the office corresponding to that of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The foresight of Watanabe Osamu in leading his master to study foreign affairs now proved to be infallible, and the experience gathered during the long years which the new Foreign Minister had spent in investigating the affairs of the West now began to bear fruit. Before his accession to the new post, the Government of Yedo had signed consent to the entering of foreign vessels in case of necessity into Nagasaki, Shimoda, and Hakodate for the purpose of coaling and of obtaining a supply of water. Lord Hotta's idea was to do away with the patch-work style of diplomacy, and to place the foreign relations on a firm and clear footing.

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Among the officials serving under him, the Grand Overseers Doi, and Tsutsui, the Accountant General Kawaji, the Overseers Iwasé, Udono, and Nagai were among the most capable and highly educated men of the time. Especially Kawaji and Iwasé were well acquainted with foreign affairs. They were also experienced in their official duties, and their capabilities commanded wide admiration. Lord Hotta took these two men into his confidence, and in all the state secrets he always invited their advice. Lord Hotta thought it necessary to announce the policy to be followed by the Shogun's Government, for he knew that the unsettled condition of the Government officials, who were actually oscillating between the two extremes of peace and war, the opening of the country and exclusion, was entirely due to the absence of a firm and fixed basis of policy on the part of the Government. Kawaji and Iwase were of the same opinion, and when the policy was carefully matured and the Shogun's approval obtained, Lord Hotta convened a meeting of all the responsible officials of the Yedo Government (not Daimios), consisting of the Judges, Governors, Overseers, and the officials of the maritime defense (corresponding to the Foreign Office), the governors of Nagasaki, Shimoda, and Hakodate, and issued the following instruction:—

“The burning of Canton by Englishmen, as reported by the Dutch captain, has received careful consideration on our part. The frequent reports rendered to us by the Dutch captain now leave little room for delay on our part. We have

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mercial relations with foreign countries being an affair of the gravest issue on which depends the prosperity or decline of our country, it should receive the fullest consideration, and should admit of no hasty measure, would be followed by any careful person sufficiently experienced in conducting his business. But as there are points on which I venture to disagree, I will candidly and frankly state my own views. As you all are well aware, my ability is far too small to discharge the great responsibility now resting on myself, but at the same time, the tendency of the times forbids me to consult my personal safety, and while keenly aware of my imperfections, I venture to give expression to my humble ideas. It has been proposed that the question of foreign trade having been unavoidably mooted since the entrance of the Americans into the Inland Sea, it would be better to give them treatment in Nagasaki similar to that which is now accorded to the Dutch and the Chinese, thus effecting the opening of the country (to commerce) without creating a conspicuous occasion, while in Shimoda and Hakodate they should be supplied with what they actually need. At a glance, this proposal appears to be advisable and expedient, but when the country is once opened for trade, such a limited concession being merely nominal they would doubtlessly make complaints. Measures should therefore be taken whereby it could be

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avoided. It is true, as the critics contend, that permission to trade having been given as a temporary expedient, this principle should be remembered, and predominance should not be given to the question of profit alone. But it must not be forgotten that there being international principles governing the commerce of the world, loss or profit arising therefrom can not be decided solely by ourselves. Moreover international trade having realized a remarkable development, and national conditions having been gradually made known to one another, the tendency of the times calls for the opening of the country on our own initiative (without waiting for pressure from abroad). The idea of having involuntarily opened the country at first must be set aside and the open policy must be made a permanent one, on which should rest the foundation of national growth in wealth and power; and it is desirable that measures should be taken to develop and enhance the national strength.

It is contended that had not the Americans come, other barbarians would not come to trade with us. Let it be borne in mind, however, that the policy of seclusion can only tend to make the people bigoted and effeminate, and that the whole nation under this policy will exhaust itself and finally collapse without waiting for a foreign invasion. It had already been advocated by some that trade should be opened, and intercourse be

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held with powerful nations in order to develop our national strength, but no one lent an ear to this proposal as the time was not ripe for adopting that policy; but if the nation had been wide awake and adopted the policy at that time, a step would have been taken whereby an apparent calamity could have been converted into a national benefit. Nothing is more desirable than faithfully to adhere to the provisions of the statutes instituted by the revered ancestors of the Shogun from time to time, thereby saving the people from falling into calamities, and maintaining peace throughout the ages. But the world changes in its conditions; and reformatory measures become necessary in order to meet the requirements of the times. The act of saving the people from becoming victims of a calamity (even by changing the old usage) can be construed as being in conformity with the spirit of the instructions left us by the Shogunal Ancestors. The strict embargo against building of large-sized vessels has already been removed, and this is one of the instances showing that changes in or amendments to the statutes being instituted as means for governing the country could not be avoided. It has also been pointed out that the abolition of the Law of Seclusion, and the opening of intercourse with different barbarians may naturally result in our being controlled by these foreigners, and above all, invite the danger of introducing the evil religion (meaning

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Christianity) into this country. This apprehension is not without reason, and such a result might follow; but I believe that preventive measures against such a result are not impossible. According to my private information, the religions believed and followed in the western countries at present, are lacking in unity, and are different from what is generally understood in this country as 'Kirishtan' (Christian). I have my personal opinion on this question of the foreign religion, but it is impossible to commit it to writing. The national statutes have been likened unto a house, but this simile is applicable only when alterations are made to suit one's taste in time of tranquillity. When there are frequent visitations of earthquakes and storms, as in the past few years, precautionary measures must be taken. Even a substantial and massive edifice needs repairs, if it has been standing for many years, and its materials, pillars and foundation have become decayed. It has been contended that since of old, a great reformation can only be effected by him whose creative capacity is commensurate with the extent of the work to be accomplished. But when the house has been damaged and disasters by earthquakes and storms are in sight, no one will remain idle, even in the absence of a master hand, without undertaking reparative work necessary for the occasion. Even an inferior skill, if combined and inspired with honest zeal, may successfully effect the repairs.

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needed. So it is in medicine. The treatment differs according to the nature of the illness. To introduce novelty in treating ordinary patients might be open to criticism as trifling with their ailments, and it may be advisable to follow the established rules in such instances ; but in case of a rare disease or a serious illness of one's father or master, why should not a deviation from the established prescriptions be made when they are known to be inefficacious ? Under such circumstances, medical advice should be widely sought and what is considered to be the best should be adopted. The present state of affairs in our country can be likened unto the case of a serious illness when the disease has eaten into the vitals completely defying all the efforts of ordinary medical art. If in such instance, the tradition alone be adhered to, and faithfully followed day after day, the disease will only develop ; and the mind and body of the patient will finally become too weak to benefit by any medical skill. If the cause of the illness be carefully studied and placed under proper medical treatment, either in form of drugs or medicinal baths, the patient may not only completely recover his original health, but also improve it and live to a good old age. Such is the action that can be classed as the conversion of a calamity into a benefit, and is worthy of the conduct of a hero. Personally I am sadly lacking in the medical skill (which the country now re-

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quires), and though I am not totally ignorant of the cause of the illness, yet I am sorry to admit that the art to effect the cure is beyond me. The success or failure attending any work is a dispensation of Heaven and is beyond the reach of a limited mind. The coöperation of your combined effort is needed and when the work attempted is successfully accomplished, I am convinced that it will stand as a national benefit for ages to come. It is desirable therefore that opinions and suggestions be now freely and candidly exchanged with ourselves."

CHAPTER VI.

The opposition somewhat silenced. American Envoy's audience with Shogun decided. A strong opposition reappears. Lord of Mito the center of opposition. His anti-foreign memorandum. Hotta ignores the memorandum. Harris received in audience.

Ignorant of the times as the officials were, they could not long remain unconvinced by Hotta's rejoinder in which the reasons for the necessity of opening the country were so ably presented. A slow but visible progress was made toward the realization of the new policy, and the stage was now reached when the question of officially receiving the American Envoy was brought on the *tapis*. But even as late as this, a dissentient voice was raised by one of Lord Hotta's own staff. The Accountant-General Mizuno, who was one of the commissioners of maritime defence, expressed strong opposition against the reception of Mr. Harris by the Shogun, and also against the opening of negotiations by the Ministers of the Shogunate with the American representative for concluding a treaty of commerce between Japan and the United States. His dissension certainly added considerable strength to the opposition, but Lord Hotta's resolution had been formed. He paid no attention to Mizuno's argument, and on the 24th day of the 7th month (1857) he issued another instruction to all the governors or chiefs of sectional offices of the Yedo Government.

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"As through the notice issued on the intimated 21st inst. in reference to receiving the American Envoy for the presentation of the President's letter* (to the Shogun), and also in reference to an important proposal he is expected to make on that occasion, it is hereby announced that the same is now definitely settled and admits of no alteration. With regard to the latter, it will be left pending, and as for the presentation of the letter it will be principally conducted in conformity with the order and conditions proposed by the Envoy; and on the day of his audience (with the Shogun) the letter will be received by the Roju (or members of the Ministerial Council). Further arrangements with regard to his coming up to the Castle to be received in audience, his journey, and sojourn in the city will be carefully made so as to avoid unnecessary complications and inconvenience to the Government. Necessary details will be prepared and submitted to the honourable approval (of the Shogun). The time of the Envoy's arrival has been decided to be the end of the coming 9th month. This should be made known to all the officials (in your respective offices)."

Rumour begat rumours when this instruction was widely published. The Shogun's Government was loudly criticized. The cry of "Expel the Barbarians!"

* Credentials.

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was sounded on all sides, and the expulsion of foreigners from the country came to be synonymous with patriotism. The expulsionists would rather cross swords with the Barbarians than tamely tolerate their presence among them. They thought that even a defeat would result in an ultimate benefit by rousing the whole nation from the stupified state of mind and the effeminate inaction prevailing throughout all the grades of society. They were so blindly prejudiced that they seriously advocated the foolhardy policy which even a most speculative adventurer would hesitate to endorse. The majority of the Daimios formed no exception to the ruling sentiment of the age. With only a very few exceptions such as Lord Matsudaira of Echizen, Lord Shimazu of Satsuma, Lord Daté of Uwajima, none of the Daimios approved of the opening of the country for foreign intercourse. They all took sides with the Expulsionists and thus united, they presented a very formidable front against the advanced policy of joining the comity of nations.

The most powerful opposition came from the Senior Lord of Mito who, representing one of the three Houses of the Tokugawa lineage, corresponded in his position to a Royal or Imperial Prince in ordinary monarchical countries. Besides his exalted rank the Lord of Mito as a High Adviser to the Shogun, very naturally wielded a power and influence far greater than other Daimios. The Clan of Mito had held a scholarly reputation from of old, and among the clansmen there were many brilliant celebrities in the world

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of literature and other scholarly professions. The reigning Lord Mito at the time of this narrative was a young man, but his father who had retired from active life and was called by his contemporaries the Senior Lord of Mito, still exerted a great influence on the policy of the Shogunate. Though retired from active life in his Clan administration, the Yedo Government still retained his services as an Honourable Adviser. He was certainly a statesman of considerable ability. He had under him many learned men acting as his counsellors. Either feigning ignorance from political motives, or totally blind to the imperative needs of the times, he caused a memorandum to be drawn up and delivered to Lord Hotta by one of the Elders of the Mito Clan. In a translated form, which loses very much of its original power, it reads as follows :—

“ The note of the evening before last conveying (to me) private information that permission has been granted to the American Official to come up to the Castle to be received in audience (by the Shogun) has been perused by both the Lord and the ex-Lord. The permission thus granted is explained as an unavoidable outcome of the incessant demand made to the Government ; but it is to be feared that a concession thus granted may establish a precedent for further demands, the nature of which may be very serious. Moreover, in reference to the presentation of the (President's) letter (to the Shogun), it must be

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noted that should it be permitted to be handed directly (to the Shogun) and on translation its contents be found unacceptable, it would, then, be too late to ignore it, for the Barbarian will not quietly have it returned. This is a grave affair involving the dignity of the Shogunal authority which has been continually upheld since the time of the godly ancestor (meaning the first Shogun Iyeyasu). The step now taken must have received most careful deliberation on the part of the Government officials, but the gravity of the case at issue demands that every precaution should be taken in order to save the House of Tokugawa from suffering even the slightest indignity. This is a duty which the Government owe to the world and to our posterity. Above all, to allow a Barbarian to come near the person (of the Shogun) is very dangerous, and as one of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Family, duty forbids me to remain silent under the circumstances, even if this memorandum be left unnoticed."

Either too prejudiced to receive fresh knowledge, or swayed by a sense of self-importance, the above memorandum can serve as a standard of the intellectual development of the Mito Clan in those days. Had the famous Fujita Toko been alive, the Clan would have acted very differently. Fujita Toko had been a scholarly adviser to the senior Lord of Mito. His learning and statesman-like ability were widely respected and admired by his contemporaries. He fell a

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the Shogun) at the Castle. It is hereby ordered that this fact shall be notified to the respective quarters."

For sixteen long months, Mr. Harris, the American Envoy, had been kept waiting in Shimoda, a small town in the Province of Izu, and his wonderful patience now bore its fruit. Success crowned his remarkable effort in breaking a policy of seclusion fully two centuries old. On the 7th day of the 10th month (November 23rd, 1857) Mr. Harris accompanied by his translator Mr. Heusken started from Shimoda on his journey to Yedo. Spending six days on the tedious travelling on horseback or in a *kago*, over the mountainous road through the Amagi and Hakone, the objective of his patient toil, the city of Yedo, was at last reached on the 14th day of the month, or November 30th, 1857.

The Government building for the study and investigation of the Barbarian books was placed at his disposal. The building was situated between the Kudan Hill and the Kiji bridge of the Castle, quite close to the site now occupied by the French Embassy.

On the following day (December 1st) the Grand Overseer Doi Tamba-no-kami was sent to Mr. Harris in an official capacity to pay him a visit of ceremony and present him with a gift from the Shogun. On the 18th (Dec. 4th) Mr. Harris showed a copy of his State paper to Lord Hotta. It proved to be the credentials given him by the President of the United States, proposing to conclude a treaty of commerce

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between the two countries. On the 21st day (December 7th) Mr. Harris was received in audience by the Shogun, and most cordial treatment was accorded him. (Dinner was to have been served him at the Castle, but as Mr. Harris found out that neither the Shogun nor any of the Ministers partook of the feast, he politely explained that the custom of his country forbade him to partake of a dinner where the host did not eat with him. So it was decided that the delicacies specially prepared for the occasion should be sent to his place.)

CHAPTER VII.

Hotta holds conference with the American Envoy. Harris speaks on the impossibility of having the country closed. Epitome of his own words. The dangers of seclusion vividly pointed out. National honour to be saved by concluding a treaty with a peaceful Envoy unaccompanied by any means of threat.

On the 26th day of the month (December 12th) we find Mr. Harris in the Main Hall of Lord Hotta's mansion. The host showed him every courtesy. All the principal members of the Maritime Defence Commission, the Accountant-General, and the Governor of Shimoda, besides interpreters, were also present at this interview.

Mr. Harris explained that his mission was not of a private nature, that out of solicitude on the part of the President of the United States to place the interest of Japan on a firm and lasting basis, he had made his proposal to the Tycoon (Shogun); that what he was going to say would be a further elucidation of the contents of the President's letter. He then proceeded to explain that the friendly attitude of the United States toward Japan was shown by the desire to become the pioneer nation to conclude a treaty with the Empire of Japan. He said that a want of mutual understanding gave birth to suspicions and jealousies; that the United States had nothing in common with an aggressive policy; territory she did not want. A

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nation, he said, in order to be aggressive must have a station in the vicinity of the country where it intends to gain new territory, but the United States had no rendezvous in the Orient, clearly proving the absence of any aggressive intentions on her part. He strongly condemned the policy of aggression as simply piratical and said that the national principle of the United States was prohibitive of such a policy: never since the United States became a nation, had she taken even an inch of another's territory. The proposal for concluding a treaty Mr. Harris attributed to the sole desire of establishing tradal relations whereby mutual wants could be supplied and natural resources utilized to the fullest extent.

He then dwelt on the changed condition of the world since the introduction of steam and the invention of telegraphic communications by which distant nations were brought into closer connection. He explained that these factors would naturally bring the nations of the world nearer to one another, and tend to convert the whole world into one vast family of mankind. In order to effect this, national intercourse must be opened and commercial relations kept up. Only two provisions were necessary for this purpose: 1stly, to permit a minister accredited by the government and invested with the same authority as the Envoy to reside in the capital of the country; 2ndly, to allow the subjects of both nations to trade freely with each other. He then went on to explain that the United States would not be the only nation demanding to have

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the country opened for trade, for all the countries of Europe, especially England, were placed under the absolute necessity of opening relations with Japan, even at the risk of a war. In support of this contention, Mr. Harris referred to the situation then prevailing in the English territory of India. He said that India, rich and fertile as she was, could never keep herself free from the menace by Russia from the north. The late war fought against Russia by the combined armies of England and France had for its object the checking of the Russian advance. They knew that Russia wanted to secure Saghalien and Amur from whence to come down upon Manchuria so as to effect the ultimate advent upon the English territory of India. England would find it no easy task to arrest this Russian advance. She might be forced to wrest Yezo or Hakodate from Japan so as to establish a station whereby the Russians might be checked from the rear. Great Britain could not adopt better tactics. He then referred to the condition of China and said that China like Japan was opposed to opening the country to foreign intercourse, and that eighteen years ago, she went to war against England which resulted in sacrificing thousands of lives. Nankin itself was menaced and China had to sue for peace. She was made to pay an indemnity of over five million taels besides ceding an important port. Even such defeat was not enough to bring China to her senses, for again she went to war, this time against the combined forces of England and France. Peking was entered by the invaders and had

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to suffer the humiliation of having the terms of peace dictated by the conqueror.] The Envoys of both England and France had asked the American Government to join their invasion of China, but the proposal was flatly refused on the ground that such was not in conformity with the principle guiding the policy of the United States Government, which would not fight against a weak nation without any cause or provocation. This, Mr. Harris explained, was a clear proof of his Government's entertaining no design whatever on other nations' territory. He then urged the necessity of Japan's joining the comity of nations and of learning a lesson from the bitter experiences of China. He called attention to the fact the Japan had been blessed with a period of peace for three hundred years, but if the people should get accustomed to tranquillity and become self-satisfied by forgetting the dangers that might at any time menace the country, either from within or from without, the nation could only become weak and degenerate. He said that Japan had established a military reputation from of old, but mere bravery unsupported by military art would only invite a defeat in actual warfare. He then, referring to the nature of the weapons in use at that time, said that swords and lances had been replaced by guns and muskets, and also by ships run by steam, so that not much reliance could be placed on castles and fortresses. He also explained that even if war were declared a state of hostility could not continue always. Peace must be restored in time and he asked which would be

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better, to fight first and then conclude peace, or to open and establish international relations with honour, without fighting. He emphasized the fact that his mission was a peaceful one, and pointed out that he had come without being accompanied by a single man-of-war solely out of consideration of the honour of Japan. Should Japan now conclude a treaty with the United States, the result would be realized without dishonour to her military reputation, and also without injuring her national honour. To conclude a treaty with a peaceful envoy coming entirely by himself in order to effect the mission, was far better and far more honourable than to come to terms under pressure of a warlike demonstration. He also stated that he was prepared to have the country opened gradually after a most careful consideration of different points. He further said that should Japan conclude a treaty with the United States, he had reason to believe that England and France would not make any exorbitant demand. Even if they should do so, the speaker was prepared to say that his Government would exert its influence to have peace maintained and the safety of Japan ensured.

Mr. Harris then spoke of his conversation with the British Admiral Bowring at Hongkong, who on learning of Mr. Harris's mission told him that he (the Admiral) also intended soon to enter the Bay of Yedo with a fleet of ten ships in order to demand the opening of the country. The Admiral, Mr. Harris said, gave him to understand that he was quite pre-

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pared to open hostilities should the demand be refused. According to the latest report received by Mr. Harris, he had reason to believe that France also would appear on the shores of Japan. The speaker attributed the delay of both English and French arrival to the situation in China demanding their attention at that time. He then assured Lord Hotta of his pacific motive solely based on the principle of humanity, and expressed his firm conviction of lasting and friendly relations between Japan and the United States being positively maintained, if only the Shogun would be induced to conclude the treaty with the latter country. He then concluded his long discourse by expressing the hope that Lord Hotta's knowledge of affairs both internal and foreign would result in effecting the conclusion of the treaty with the United States.

Mr. Harris very ably and eloquently elaborated on all the points that came up for discussion. The speech had to be interpreted, and the conference lasted for over two hours. His able representation made a very strong impression on his hearers, and convinced them of the impossibility of keeping the country closed any longer. His words were received with a feeling of warm appreciation which the sincerity and friendliness of the speaker merited. Lord Hotta was rejoiced that the representation made by the American Envoy only confirmed his own ideas, and before the conference was closed, another meeting was agreed upon by both parties.

The above having been translated from the record

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in Japanese, an epitome of this long conference in the words of Mr. Harris himself might be interesting for comparison. It is as follows :—

“ My private papers on Japan contain an exact copy of what I said on this occasion, therefore I do not copy it here.

It related to the changed condition of the world by the introduction of steam ; that Japan be forced to abandon her exclusive policy ; that she might soon become a great and powerful nation by simply permitting her people to exercise their ingenuity and industry ; that a moderate tax on commerce would soon give her a large revenue, by which she might support a respectable navy ; that the resources of Japan, when developed by the action of free trade, would show a vast amount of exchangeable values ; that this production would not in any respect interfere with the production of the necessary food for the people, but would arise from the employment given to the actual surplus labor of Japan, etc., etc. ; that foreign nations, one after another, send powerful fleets to Japan to demand the opening of the country ; that Japan must either yield or suffer the miseries of war ; that even if war did not ensue, the country would be kept in a constant state of excitement by the presence of the large foreign armaments ; that to make a concession of any value, it must be made in due season ; and that the terms demanded by a fleet would never be as

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moderate as those asked by a person placed as I was ; and that to yield to a fleet what was refused to an ambassador would humiliate the government in the eyes of all the Japanese people, and thus actually weaken its power. This point was illustrated by the case of China in the war of 1839 to 1841, the events succeeding that war, and the present hostilities.

I told him that by negotiating with me, who had purposely come to Yedo alone and without the presence of even a single man-of-war, the honour of Japan would be saved ; that each point should be carefully discussed ; and that the country should be gradually opened.

I added that the three great points would be : first, the reception of foreign ministers to reside at Yedo ; second, the freedom of trade with the Japanese, without the interference of government officers ; and third, the opening of additional harbors.

I added that I did not ask for any exclusive rights for the Americans, and that a treaty that would be satisfactory to the President would at once be accepted by all the great Western powers.

I did not fail to point out the danger to Japan of having opium forced upon her, and said I would be willing to prohibit the bringing it to Japan. I closed by saying that my mission was a friendly one in every respect, that I had no

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threats to use ; that the President merely informed them of the dangers that threatened the country, and pointed out a way by which not only could those dangers be averted, but Japan made a prosperous, powerful, and happy nation. My discourse lasted over two hours, and was listened to with the deepest attention and interest by the Minister. He asked some questions occasionally, when he did not fully understand what was said." (Townsend Harris by Dr. W. E. Griffis. Pp 237-239.)

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The Shogun's approval obtained for opening negotiations with the American Envoy. Harris quoted. Treaty of fourteen articles concluded.

Lord Hotta had a copy made of the record of his conference with the American Envoy, for presentation to the Shogun together with a draft of the provisions of the Treaty of commerce with the United States ; and on obtaining the Shogun's approval for them, again invited Mr. Harris to his mansion on the 2nd day of the 12th month (January 16th, 1858).

In opening the conference, Lord Hotta delivered a verbal message of the Shogun gratefully appreciating the friendly motive of the President of the United States toward Japan, and then told the Envoy that the Shogun's approval for opening tradal relations with the United States had been obtained ; that the demand for the residence of the Minister in Yedo was granted ; that the details should be arranged with the officials to be appointed for the purpose ; and that Shimoda being unsuitable for commerce, should be closed and another port opened instead.

Further details of this conference can best be learned by quoting Mr. Harris himself :

“Saturday, January 16. Again to the Minister's; retinue, roads, and the appearances in the streets exactly as they were on my two previous visits to him, except that there was not so many people

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in the streets to look at the cortége as it passed. Foreigners will soon cease to excite curiosity here.

I was received in the usual manner by the (Minister), except that I thought his smile was warmer this morning than before; today it was more than skin-deep. Minister soon opened the conference by saying that the communication I had made verbally to him, together with the written memorandum I had sent to him and the information I had communicated to his princes, had all been laid before his Majesty the Taikun. His Majesty desired first to thank the President for his very kind advice, and for the friendship he had thus shown for Japan. The Minister then proceeded to give me his Majesty's answer.

The demand for the residence of a Minister at Yedo is admitted. The place of his residence and the rights he is to exercise shall be settled by negotiation.

The right of free trade is granted. Commissioners shall be appointed to settle the details of trade.

Three harbors having already been opened, and as Japan is a small country, the number can not be increased; but as Shimoda is not found to be suitable as a harbor, another shall be given in place of it, but the number may not be increased beyond three. After the Minister had ended, I told him I was much concerned at his

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Majesty's decision about harbors ; that it was impossible for me to make a satisfactory treaty under such restrictions. I pointed out to him the west coast of Japan, bordering on the Japan sea. From Hakodate to Nagasaki, following the coast line, it is quite four hundred ri (one thousand English miles), yet in all that distance not a single harbor was opened ; that many American whale-ships were in the Japan sea, and it was very important for them to have a convenient harbor in that sea ; that his Majesty had spoken of the small size of the Empire, but an examination of the maps of the principal parts of the world would show that Japan had a coast line far greater than the average states. I therefore earnestly recommended a reconsideration of that part of his Majesty's decision.

I was informed that the Commissioners to negotiate with me would be appointed immediately, and that the first interview should be held day after to-morrow, and that the negotiations should be conducted at my quarters. I then handed the Minister a copy and translation of my full powers, and pointed out to him the necessity that the powers of the Japanese Commissioners should specify that they were appointed to negotiate with me, and not a more general power. I requested that a translation of the Japanese full powers should be handed to me before the meeting.

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I also told the Minister that, as soon as we had gone through the formality of exchanging our full powers, I would hand the Commissioners a draft of such a treaty as would be satisfactory ; that they could have it translated into Japanese, and after having duly considered it we could then proceed with our negotiations ; that this course would greatly facilitate our negotiations, and thus save valuable time ; adding that I had nothing to conceal, no secret motives or wishes, and therefore I could proceed in this frank and open manner. The Minister said that my course was very praiseworthy, and that it gave him much satisfaction.

I have the draft of a treaty which I drew up before leaving Shimoda, and I was anxious to take the initiative in presenting a draft, as, had the Japanese presented one, it would have been difficult if not impossible to reject it entirely, and to try to amend one of their performances would have made a piece of literary or diplomatic patchwork that would have excited the laughter of all who might have the misfortune to be compelled to read it. I would not learn the number or names of the intended Commissioners. I was told the Prince of Shinano would be one, but nothing further."

(Townsend Harris by Dr. W. E. Griffis,
Pp 249-252).

The draft of the Treaty submitted to Lord Hotta by the American Envoy consisted of sixteen articles.

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Inouye Shinano-no-Kami and Iwasé Higo-no-Kami were duly appointed as the Commissioners for the negotiations. On the 4th day (January 18th) the Representatives of both parties met for the first time. Nine conferences were held and by the 25th day (February 8th) the Treaty of fourteen articles was agreed upon.

According to the Treaty, Hakodate was to remain as before, while Kanagawa was newly opened in place of Shimoda which was now closed. Three more ports were opened, making in all five open ports, of which Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hiogo were to be used for trading purposes. Kanagawa and Nagasaki were to be opened within fifteen months, while Niigata was to be opened in twenty months. Trading was also permitted in Yedo and Osaka. The former was to be opened in forty-four months, and the latter in fifty-six. No residence, however, was permissible in these two cities.

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The opinions of the Daimios invited on the new Treaty. Violent opposition. The celebrated anti-foreign memorandum of the Senior Lord of Mito. Hostilities openly advocated. Mission sent to Kioto to obtain the Imperial sanction. The total failure of the Mission. Crisis reached in the relations between the Courts of Kioto and Yedo.

The Yedo Government now thought it safer and advisable to invite the opinions of all the great Daimios and of high officials on the new Treaty before signing the compact. Copies of the Treaty together with the record of the conference between Lord Hotta and Mr. Harris were sent to them. They were also accompanied by the following note from the Government :—

“ The grave nature of the subject brought up at the conference with the American Envoy has received the most careful consideration ; but owing to the changed condition of the world at present, which may be likened unto that period in the history of Ancient China when the country was divided up among the rival chieftains ever ready to advance their respective interests at the expense of others, our country has been brought under the necessity of holding intercourse with foreigners by concluding a treaty with their Government. That step once taken, it becomes

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impossible to adhere literally to the old usage without endangering the national prestige. This fact is the cause of the profoundest concern (on the part of the Shogun). It must be remembered, however, that a great deed can be accomplished only at a critical period. The present time offers a specially favourable opportunity for laying a new foundation for enhancing the power of the country. A very great reform is urgently desired (by the Shogun); but in view of the want of unity among the people at present, which might become a cause of complications and dangers at home and abroad, the negotiations had been conducted with the object in view of curtailing the demand made by the American Envoy as much as possible. The new step taken being a measure involving a serious national danger, the Ministry is directed to invite suggestions on this subject."

The call was eagerly responded to. Many were the memorandums presented by the Daimios, but most of them simply based their arguments on their prejudice against foreign barbarians. Mostly they were so many words giving vent to their bigoted ideas. They would condemn the new policy as inviting the most dreadful effect upon the country, but failed to support their contentions with facts and reasons. Some would expel foreigners by force, but were ignorant of the means whereby it could be effected. Only Lord Matsudaira of Echizen, Lord Shimazu of Satsuma, and a few others boldly expressed their approval of open-

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ing the country. Lord Matsudaira of Echizen wrote that it was impossible to keep the country closed any longer, for the tendency of the times forbade it. He further advised that Japan should take the initiative in opening commerce and navigation with other countries, and that any reasonable demand preferred by foreign countries for opening the country should be willingly complied with, provided the Imperial sanction be first obtained for that purpose.

Lord Shimazu of Satsuma contended that even if we should come out victorious after a war with foreigners, there would be no end to the amount of expense to be borne by us. Now the foreigners having come to us asking for the opening of our country, he would comply with their request without any hesitation. As for the residence of a Minister he advised that it should be reciprocated by sending our own representative, and thus insure a better understanding of each other.

Among the opposition, the most noteworthy in point of absurdity came from the hand of the Senior Lord of Mito. He was uncompromising in his opposition against the residence of any foreign barbarian in Yedo. The presence of even one American had caused so much trouble, and he was afraid that far greater complications would follow if any more foreigners should come from England, France, and Russia. "Should I be sent abroad as an Ambassador," he wrote, "I will argue with foreign Governments and convince them of the uselessness of sending their envoys here,

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and will make them withdraw their demand. If the Castle of Osaka were given me with an annual allowance of twenty thousand *rio*,* and a stipend of one million *rio*, besides, for building large vessels, I would go abroad with a fleet of those ships, and thus find an occasion to repay the great indebtedness to the country under which my house has been placed for a period of over two hundred years."

Such a proposal was of course beyond criticism. It must be classed with the vacant threats very much in vogue among the Mito clansmen. Lord Hotta lamented that such an idea had ever been penned over the name of one who was looked up to as one of the few veteran statesmen of his time. He had it quietly returned to the sender through Lord Matsudaira of Echizen. The motive of Lord Hotta in taking this step might be explained in two ways: he may have been too friendly disposed toward the aged statesman and thus tried to save him from the ridicule of his posterity by keeping the paper away from the archives of the Shogunate, or he may have done so simply out of a political motive to keep the absurdly violent proposal from reaching the already infuriated class of people which only waited for a spark to start a general conflagration. The latter explanation, however, is most unlikely, for the returning of the memorandum in such a quiet manner was hardly likely to bring the prejudiced old mind to a realization of

* According to the rate of exchange then ruling about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *rio* was equivalent to £1

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his folly and if he wanted he could give publicity to his ideas in any way he liked. It would have been totally impossible for Lord Hotta to prevent the spread of the ideas of the old statesman, for the exalted position he occupied would not permit the Shogun's Ministry to treat him as an ordinary offender. The only reasonable explanation, therefore, must be sought in the manly desire on the part of Lord Hotta, actuated by his high sense of Samurai morals, to save an Honourable Branch of the Tokugawa Family from the humiliation of leaving behind in the archives of the Yedo Government a permanent record of an impracticable policy verging on absurdity and filled with blustering self-conceit.

The opposition to the Ministry now reached a climax. Mito's idea of closing the country by expelling foreigners out of the Japanese territory found many ardent adherents on all sides, while a more moderate opposition advised the Government to obtain the Imperial sanction before taking the final step. Cunning politicians took advantage of the popular dissension from the Government to create an occasion for overthrowing the Tokugawa Shogunate. One could be sure of popularity if he would join in the cry of "Expel the Barbarians."

As already stated, the Tokugawa Shogunate since its first organization under Prince Iyeyasu, was authorized in political affairs to act under its own discretion without consulting the Imperial Court. Had not the Shogunate faltered, but boldly acted on its own

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responsibility, the agitated state of the country might finally have reconciled itself to the new order of things, without extensive disturbances. But the Ministry found it too dangerous to ignore the proposal to obtain the Imperial approval. The Yedo officials were doubtless ignorant of the power and influence hidden behind the curtain of the court of Kioto which had for its object, not the refusal of opening the country, but the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Acting under this blissful ignorance, the Yedo Ministry expected to receive the sanction without much difficulty. It must be remembered in this connection that according to some historians, Lord Abé while in office as the Dean of the Ministerial Council of the Shogunate committed the Yedo Government to an understanding with Prince Sanjo Sanetsumu, a High Councillor of the Court of Kioto, to conduct foreign affairs subject to the Imperial sanction.

The Government of Yedo having decided to obtain the Imperial approval for the new Treaty with the United States, a mission was dispatched to the Imperial City with the official scholar Hayashi Daigaku-no-Kami as *chef de mission* and overseer Tsuda Han-zaburo as Deputy Delegate. Their mission was first to convince the ignorant and prejudiced officials surrounding the Throne of the necessity of resorting to the new policy for which the Imperial sanction was to be sought.

On reaching Kioto, the Shogun's Envoy through the medium of the Magistrate of the Imperial City

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delivered to the Council of the Imperial Court the official note from the Yedo Government in which it was briefly stated that owing to the changed condition then prevailing in foreign countries, the law in force since the Kan-yei Era (closing the country to foreign intercourse) must be amended; that if the old law should be maintained and a war had to be fought with any single nation, a victory might be secured, but that would involve the weakening of the country; that since China opened hostilities against foreigners, she had not been able to extricate herself from serious disturbances both internal and otherwise; that the tendencies of the times called for the necessity of reverting to the order which had prevailed prior to the Kan-yei Era; that the coming of foreign merchantmen to these shores, and the residence of foreigners in Yedo must be permitted; and that the question concerning Yezo and the Russians, as well as joining the comity of nations by opening navigation, were demanding prompt attention. The note ended with an assurance that enquiries on any doubtful points would receive most careful consideration, and be explained by the Envoy.

In this note Lord Hotta wished to remind the Kioto authorities of the fact that before the Kan-yei Era, tradal relations had been kept up with the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Siamese, and with the people of other nationalities, and that those relations had been opened and continued without receiving the Imperial sanction. Among the High Councillors of the

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Court of Kioto, Hirohashi and Higashibōjō were more enlightened than others, and agreed with Hotta's ideas. But the influence of the clans unfriendly to the Yedo Government had already increased the prejudice of the Court officials against any proposal from Yedo, whatever its nature might be. The power of the opposition now surrounding the Throne was very formidable. A cry of indignation was raised in Court circles that the nature of the mission was too serious and important to be entrusted to men of such subordinate official standing as Hayashi and Tsuda, and that the attitude of the Yedo Government toward the Imperial Court in this respect was little short of an open slight against the Throne. The mission instead of quietly winning the Court officials to the side of the Yedo Ministry resulted in starting a flame of indignation and the most determined opposition ever encountered by the Yedo Government. The fire of hostile sentiment against the Tokugawa Shogunate in which was now involved the most delicate and sensitive of Japanese sentiments, loyalty toward the Throne, showed every sign of spreading fast and far. The mission had only served to create in the relations of Yedo with Kioto a crisis of the gravest nature and of an unprecedented magnitude.

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Lord Hotta goes to Kioto. His address to the Throne. The world in want of a Ruler powerful enough to command universal vassalage. Possibility of Japan assuming hegemony in the council of nations. Hotta nearly succeeds. A fresh opposition against the new policy. Memorandum by the opposition. Threats against those in favour of the Shogun's policy. Eighty-eight courtiers march to the Premier's residence demanding the removal of the clause in the Imperial Reply authorizing the Shogunate to use its own discretion. Premier finally yields to their pressure.

Pressed on the one side, with an urgent demand by the American Envoy to have the Treaty signed, and confronted on the other side, with the grave political crisis referred to in the preceding chapter, no alternative was now left for the Yedo Government but to dispatch Lord Hotta himself to Kioto to reason with the angry officials of the Imperial Court.

Obtaining the Shogun's permission, Lord Hotta with Kawaji and Iwase started from Yedo on the 21st day of the 1st month of the 5th year of Ansei (March 5th, 1858), reaching his destination on the 5th day of the 2nd month (March 19th). Taking up residence at the Temple Honnōji, he called upon the Prime Minister of the Court, Prince Kujō Hisatada, to notify him of his arrival and also of the nature of his mission. He then invited two of the High Councillors to the Temple where he was staying and gave them

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a full verbal explanation of the affairs now demanding an urgent measure. Through them he presented to the Prime Minister for his private perusal a copy of the record of conference with the American Envoy, and also of the draft of the Treaty together with other papers relating to foreign affairs. He also had an address to the Throne prepared for presentation through the Prime Minister. The gist of the address in a translated form is as follows :—

“ The condition of the countries of the world has greatly changed. It is very much like the time when China was divided among rival principalities, and is also like the condition at the close of the Ashikaga Shogunate. Rival chiefs assuming the title of King or Emperor are bent on advancing their respective interests by seizing the territory of others. In Europe, the year following the birth of the Saviour is made the first year of the chronological record. The same is true of America ; but the latter has its own chronicle dating from the year when the country first established itself (as an independent nation). In Russia, the calender is chronicled from the time of its organization as a state. All the countries of Asia have chronicles of their own, and their institutions are different and varied. No unity exists among all the states of the world, and each and all of them are aiming to gain supremacy over the others. China by remaining self-satisfied and conceited has suffered frequent defeats. Korea and

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Loochoo are too weak to take independent action and are simply consulting the pleasure of those stronger than themselves. Luzon and Siam are also weak and powerless like Korea. Stronger countries of the world are forming a comity of nations and are mutually supplying their wants by trading among themselves. They also have treaties concluded whereby they agree to assist each other in time of dangers and difficulties. The defaulters are punished by declaring war against them, and when peace is once concluded, the old relations of amity are restored. The present is very different from the time of old, when a war was limited to internal disputes, and an alliance did not extend to other countries. At present, the countries of the world are so related that the action of any one country never remains isolated without affecting other countries. The statesman must have his calculations based, not on any single country, but on the general conditions of different nations. The rivalries now existing among the nations, which may result either in war or alliance, will never cease unless some one possessed of an extraordinary power should assume the hegemony and unite all others under his sole authority. The present condition of international affairs forbids any country to remain secluded. Either a war has to be fought, or amicable relations have to be established. It being impossible to maintain an undisturbed seclusion,

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it must be borne in mind that if our country should open hostilities against any one of the foreign nations, believing that the enemy to be fought against will be limited to the one against which the war had been declared, we shall soon find ourselves to have been seriously deceived. No policy is now more pregnant of danger than a thoughtless adherence to the old usage at the risk of war. Once that policy is followed, we will soon find ourselves face to face with many enemies. Our country will be threatened by Europe and America as well as Asiatic nations from the south-west, while from the north-east, we will find ourselves menaced by the interests governing the territories belonging to North and South America and also to Russia along the coast of Kamtschatka. Our country lying in the midst of the ocean routes connecting the interests of different countries, will be regarded as an obstacle if we should remain secluded. The interested parties will lose no time in making the attitude of our country a pretext for threatening us by sending their own fleets. When this stage is reached and we still remain adhering to the traditional policy without complying with their demand, there can be only one result,—war. Surrounded by seas on all sides, and invaded by enemies from every side, it is not difficult to predict the issue and also to see the impossibility of remaining in such a condition for any length of time. Moreover, it

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is entirely against reason, and also against the principle of nature to convert the nations which we could use in time to our own advantage, into formidable enemies, simply because of our own attitude toward them. No graver mistake could be made in governing a country than to remain unacquainted with the inevitable tendencies now prevailing throughout the whole world. Fighting against all the nations combined can never be compared with hostilities limited to one or two nations. All the innocent people at home will thereby be plunged into dire distress, and the opportunity of developing our national strength and of attaining such position among nations as will enable us to make our voice heard, will forever be lost to us. The present condition of the world shows that it is lacking in a ruler sufficiently powerful and virtuous, under whom all countries could be united. Among the rulers of the world at present, there is none so noble and illustrious as to command universal vassalage, or who can make his virtuous influence felt throughout the length and breadth of the whole world. To have such a Ruler over the whole world is doubtless in conformity with the Will of Heaven. Before the countries of the world can be unified under a great ruler, international conditions show the necessity of establishing relations among all the nations, either by forming an alliance with those equal in virtue

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and power, or by concluding treaties of amity and good-will. The sending of Envoys should be reciprocated. Ministers should be sent and received. If any nation dispatch men-of-war for protecting its merchantmen, we should also do the same. No action should be one-sided. A position should be maintained on equal footing. The utmost effort should be made to become thoroughly acquainted with all the affairs of other countries with which treaty relations have been established, and in establishing relations with foreign countries, the object should always be kept in view of laying a foundation for securing the hegemony over all nations. For that purpose, shipping should be developed and trade be kept up. In these things in which foreigners excel us, our defects should be remedied. Measures should be taken for developing the national resources ; and military preparations should be vigorously carried out. When our power and national standing have come to be recognized, we should take the lead in punishing the nation which may act contrary to the principle of international interests ; and in so doing, we should join hands with the nations whose principles may be found identical with those of our country. An alliance thus formed should also be directed towards protecting *harmless but powerless* nations. Such a policy could be nothing else but the enforcement of the power and authority deputed (to us) by the Spirit of

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to Heaven. Our national prestige and position thus ensured, the nations of the world will come to look up to our Emperor as the Great Ruler of all the nations, and they will come to follow our policy and submit themselves to our judgment. This ideal realized, the Ruler of Japan will have accomplished a deed commensurate with the great responsibility he owes to the Heaven and the Earth. Our land of the Gods is ruled by Heavenly Rulers of one unbroken lineage since the beginning of time; and the relations between the Ruler and the subjects are correctly established; while the fundamental institutions are clearly set forth. Japan is beyond comparison with other countries where ruling dynasties and national institutions have suffered frequent changes. With us, the Heavenly descendants of one unbroken lineage have always sat on the Throne, and our country occupies the foremost rank as the oldest among nations. Our territory is not extensive, but we surpass other countries in the fertility of the soil and also in population. Moreover our people are brave and loyal which will commend them to the special favour of the Spirit of Heaven. We can safely trust to the protection of the Great Ruler of the universe. Now is the opportune moment offered us by the changed condition of the world to throw off the traditional policy three centuries old, and make a united national effort to seize the opportunity for realizing the great destiny

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awaiting our country, as stated above. For this purpose, speedy permission is respectfully and humbly solicited for opening intercourse with foreign countries."

The open policy advocated by Lord Hotta is well epitomized in the above address. Considering the mental condition of the people in those days, one can not help but admire the advanced ideas of Lord Hotta so boldly and ably stated. Besides committing his ideas to paper, he left no stone unturned in trying to convince the Premier and other high dignitaries of the necessity of following the new policy. His efforts were not fruitless. Both the Premier and the High Councillors were converted to his ideas, and a draft of the Imperial Reply to the Shogun was shown to Hotta and to the Court officials. According to the draft, the question of foreign relations was left entirely to the sole discretion of the Yedo Government:

The Reply very forcibly represented the grave anxiety entertained by the Emperor over the problem of foreign relations, and expressed a wish to get the opinions of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Shogunate and also of other Daimios on the same question. The general tone of the Reply was evasive and indefinite, but in its last clause, the *Yedo Government was clothed with authority to use its own discretion in dealing with that question.* Though not as sufficiently explicit as Lord Hotta might have desired, the last clause inspired him with some hope, and on the strength of that clause he expected to find a way to the

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final solution of the problem which had been agitating the whole Empire.

The Court officials and others of the two-sworded class, who were in close connection with the former, raised great opposition to the Imperial Reply. They could not lose this rare opportunity of weakening the power and authority of the Tokugawa Government. Taking advantage of Hotta's presence in Kioto, they tried their utmost to deal a deadly blow to the Shogunate. For this purpose, nothing suited their machinations so well as this unpopular question of opening the country for foreign relations. The opposition gradually won the whole of the Court officials to its side. Ambitious politicians both in and out of the Court, supported by a powerful band of Anti-Tokugawa samurais and Daimios, loudly opposed the new policy advanced by the Yedo Government. Prince Sanjo Sanetsumu, the father of the late Prince Sanjo, the first Prime Minister of the Meiji Government,* apparently led the opposition.

On the 7th day of the 3rd month (April 28th, 1858), a memorandum was presented to the Imperial Court, signed by seven high officials of the same Court, in which the danger of following the new policy was very strongly stated, and the opening of the country was condemned as desecration of the holy land of the gods, an act which would most certainly call down the wrath of Heaven; and the writers of the memorandum sup-

* Dates from 1868 when the Throne assumed the actual power of Government upon abdication of the Shogun.

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ported their contention by attributing the natural calamities which had frequently visited the country for some years past to the Heavenly displeasure exhibited to a deviation from the old usage. They also ridiculed the idea of bowing to the threats by foreigners and of yielding to their pressure. They argued that any concession made to foreigners was a national humiliation, never to be blotted out of the history of the country. They felt certain that even foreigners would reconcile themselves to the refusal of their demands, if they be sufficiently convinced that the whole nation was united in keeping the country closed. They further argued that it having been already proved that even one solitary American was found very difficult and troublesome to deal with, should several others present a combined front against the country, it would not be difficult to predict the magnitude of the dangers and troubles then confronting the Government. Foreigners once allowed to come to these shores, the writers were firmly convinced that they would make a thorough investigation of all the strategic points of the country and gradually dispossess the people of the land bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In conclusion, they appealed to the loyal spirits of their countrymen, especially of those privileged class munificently pensioned by the Government to oppose the new policy of opening the country.

Ridiculously ignorant and impracticable as it may appear, the tenor of the memorandum was exactly the echo of the sentiment swaying in the breasts of the

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Court officials. On the 12th day (April 25th) eighty-eight Court officials drew up an address to the Prime Minister in which they advocated expunging the last clause in the draft of the Imperial Reply giving authority to the Yedo Government to use its own discretion. They argued that should this dangerous clause be left standing, it would simply result in the desecration of the Land of the Gods by foreign barbarians. They suggested that the clause should be so altered that any step to be taken by the Shogunate should be made subject to the approval of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Shogunate and other Daimios. They then sent a threatening letter to the High Councillors Higashibōjō and Hirohashi who were convinced by Lord Hotta of the necessity of introducing the new policy. In that letter, it was stated that the addressed persons would be attacked and killed on their way to the Palace.

The Prime Minister Kujō, however, firmly upheld the principle embodied in the draft of the Imperial Reply. The eighty-eight courtiers who had signed the Address to the Premier, finding him abiding by his original idea of allowing discretion to the Yedo authorities assembled themselves on the 16th day (April 27th) in one of the Chambers of the Palace. An excited meeting took place in which they denounced those who differed from them as traitors. This disorderly demonstration was finally dispersed by Prince Sanjō before it resulted in more dangerous developments. No more disturbance occurred during the day, but at night-fall,

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they again became active. They agreed that they would march to the residence of the Prime Minister, and force him to remove the objectionable clause from the Imperial Reply, and that if they should fail in their attempt, they would go to the Temple Hon-nōji and demand that Lord Hotta commit *Seppuku* (or *harakiri*).

Before the night had far advanced, they called at the Premier's residence, all armed with swords. They appeared more like bandits than refined courtiers. The Prime Minister tried to send them away quietly, and told them through his steward that he would carefully consider their proposal and give them an answer in good time. But they would not leave the spot unless their demand be complied with. They also said that they were prepared to resort to the last measure if the change they had proposed be not adopted that very night. They showed every sign of carrying out their threats. The Premier's steward thus intimidated by the enraged visitors, repeated to his master what the unruly men demanded, emphasizing, at the same time, his own apprehensions of the risk his master was incurring by refusing their demand. *The Prime Minister finally yielded* and sent them away with his promise to make the alteration advised.

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Complete change in the political condition of Kioto. Hotta's attempts to turn the tide unsuccessful. The Imperial Reply deprives the Shogunate of its authority to use its own discretion. Hotta still undespairing makes fresh attempt by presenting a new memorandum. The Reply more explicit in its Exclusive policy. Hotta finally departs from Kioto.

The violent storm of opposition effected the destruction of Lord Hotta's political venture, and the condition of Kioto now underwent a complete change. On the 17th day (April 28th) the High Councillor Higashibōjō resigned his office and was replaced by Madenokōji. The work of drafting the new Reply to the Yedo Government fell on the shoulders of Prince Sanjō Sanetsumu. On the 20th day (May 1st) Lord Hotta was officially presented with the new Imperial Reply in presence of an august assembly of the Court officials of high rank.

The Reply stated that the Imperial Mind was greatly concerned over the questions relating to transactions with the United States as a grave menace to the prestige of the Land of the Gods, involving therein national dangers of a serious nature; that changing the good policy instituted and followed since the time of the First Shogun Ieyasu was too dreadful an offence against the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and also against those of the ancestors of the Shogunate

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that such a policy would simply tend to cause a grave disturbance of national feelings thereby endangering permanent peace throughout the Empire ; that the Shimoda Treaty which had been signed some years ago was in itself an outrage, and to add to it with a new treaty was considered (by His Majesty) as a forfeiture of national dignity ; that in view of such grave questions it would be necessary to confer first with the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Family and also with other Daimios before asking for the Imperial sanction.

Lord Hotta knew that if he should act as required by the Imperial Reply, it would only invite a national disaster. He made up his mind to make another trial whereby a reconciliation could be effected between the Imperial Court and the Yedo Government, and thus save the country from the impending dangers. He prepared a fresh memorandum in which he most humbly expressed his sorrow for causing uneasiness to the Imperial Mind ; but firmly stated, at the same time, that the urgency of the nature of the case at issue demanded special measures on the part of the Yedo Government to deal with the question now pending between Japan and the United States : he then asked that the Shogunate be authorized to take any measure which the urgency of the case might require. He also stated in another letter that though he had been ordered to return to Yedo, yet there being reasons for his longer stay in the City, he had dispatched Iwasé to Yedo for transmitting the Imperial message.

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Notwithstanding Lord Hotta's renewed effort the gap thus created between the Imperial Court and the Yedo Government could not be bridged. The former was now immovable in its policy of exclusion. No reasoning was now of any avail. Had Hotta come to Kioto when he had sent Hayashi and Tsuda, the tide of opposition might have been turned; but now it was too late. The opposition had now gathered a great force, and its platform was raised on the sensational rallying-cry of "*open the country and you are a traitor.*" In other words, the diplomatic question had been completely utilized for overthrowing the power of the Yedo Government. This stage of the Anti-Shogunate movement reached, Hotta saw that no remedy could be of any use. Placed in this dilemma, Lord Hotta could only lament that the thick wall of ignorance and prejudice surrounding the Throne had completely blinded the Imperial judgment.

The reply to his memorandum said very distinctly that it was impossible to grant his request; that if the other party should resort to an extreme measure while the question was still under consideration by the Daimios, as ordered in the last Imperial Reply, the Court was prepared for the inevitable; and that the utmost effort should be made to carry out the Imperial Wish. The Reply further enumerated the following points: (1) Permanent safety should be secured whereby the Imperial anxiety could be removed; (2) measures should be taken so as to uphold the national dignity and save the country from future calamities; (3) the

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national defenses should be placed on an efficient footing, lest the refusal to grant any more than the concession made in the Shimoda Treaty be made a cause of war. The Reply ended with a clause that if the conference of the Daimios found it difficult to arrive at a final decision the Oracle should be sought at the Great Shrine of Ise.

Another message from the Court was delivered to Lord Hotta under the date of the 25th (May 6th) in which was still more clearly stated the impossibility of entertaining the proposal made by the American Envoy, and of concluding the treaty with his government; and it was also definitely stated in the message that if the other party should remain obdurate and resort to an act of insolence, war should be declared.

An old adage that success in convincing others depends not so much on the difficulty of the process as on the state of mind of those who are to be convinced, has proved to be true in this instance. The Court officials with whom Lord Hotta had to deal were those whose range of vision was limited to their own exclusive circle where they remained in ignorance of things outside their own society. They could not be expected to know anything about foreign affairs. Lord Hotta in one of his private letters to his friend in Yedo bitterly complained of the state of ignorance prevailing among the Court officials; and speaking of their hardened prejudice and refusal to be convinced by facts and reason, he went so far as to class the mental attitude as something not to be expected of sane men. With such a class of people to deal with, the writer of the

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letter very naturally made a gloomy forecast of his mission, and was deeply apprehensive of the gravest result consequent on their blind prejudices. The learned Yoda Hiaksen writing of the feelings predominating in the minds of the Kiotō officials in those days said that the violent measure commanded in the Imperial Reply could never have originated in the Imperial Mind, and it must be attributed to the audacious pressure which the exclusionists had ventured to bring upon the Throne. In support of this assertion, the same scholar adduces the Imperial Rescript issued some years afterward in which a reckless measure to be taken for excluding foreigners was distinctly stated as being against the Imperial Will. Moreover, the order contained in the message to consult the Oracle of the Great Shrine of Ise in case the Imperial decision could not be formed on account of the divided opinions of the Daimios, appeals to the same scholar as too ridiculous a proposition to come from the mind of a Ruler of recognized virtue and wisdom like the Emperor who sat on the Throne at that time. The absurdity of such a proposition according to the learned critic must be obvious even to a child. It would be quite safe, then, to conclude that the Imperial Mind had been shrouded by misrepresentations and exaggerations of the grossest nature.

Hotta's mission ended in a total failure. He first sent one of the members of his suite, Iwase Higo-no-Kami to Yedo, and a few days afterward, he himself bid farewell to the Imperial City. He reached Yedo on the 20th day of the 4th month (June 1st, 1858).

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The dissensions among the officials of the Shogunate over the question of the appointment of the Heir to the Shogun. Hotta's opponents predominant during his absence. Hotta in favour of appointing Lord Keiki as the Heir. Dictatorial officer appointed. Shogun's Heir decided. Hotta still undespairing. His conference with Harris. The postponement of the signing of the Treaty asked. Harris disgusted. The Shogun convenes a meeting of the Daimios. Announces the Imperial Reply to the assembly. The Shogunal edict issued to the assembly.

On his return to Yedo, Lord Hotta found that the Anti-opening Party was not the only antagonist that he had to reckon with. His absence was taken advantage of by those who differed from him over the question of the personage to be chosen for the Shogun's successor. Hotta advocated the appointment of Lord Keiki, a son of the Senior Lord of Mito, who then was the Lord of Hitotsubashi* by adoption. His ability was recognized by all who knew him. But powerful opposition existed to his succession. It had its center among the ladies of the Shogunal Court. They hated the Senior Lord of Mito simply because he was the known advocate of simplicity and frugality and

* One of the Junior Houses of the Tokugawa Family. Mito, Owari, and Kishiu were known as the Three Houses, while Hitotsubashi, Tayasu, and Shimizu constituted the Three Junior Houses. The Lords of both the Principal and Junior Houses were eligible as Shogun in case of the absence of an heir apparent or direct lineage of the reigning Shogun.

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a pronounced enemy of any form of luxury. The ladies of the Court were afraid of being brought under his influence which would certainly result in their forfeiture of the ease and luxury they were enjoying. They dreaded the idea of any reform in the way of frugality and economy being introduced among them. The Mito influence once established in the Shogunal Court they felt certain that the rigidly economical principles of that clan would become predominant in the Court.

Lord Hotta and his followers based their argument on the necessity of the times. They contended that a wise, full-grown, and able mind was needed to deal with the great crisis the country was then passing through, and that among those eligible for this post of high authority, no one was better qualified than Lord Keiki. The great Daimios of Satsuma, Tosa, Echizen, Uwa-jima and others also favoured the appointment of the same person as the Shogun's heir. But sentiment again prevailed over reason. The influence of the ladies finally won the day.

According to the constitution of the Tokugawa

Lord Keiki was not chosen as the Heir on this occasion; but on the premature demise of the new Shogun from Kishiu, after reigning for only eight years, he was invested with the Shogunal authority as the fifteenth and last of the Tokugawa Shoguns. This was in 1866. Two years afterward he abdicated, and in 1868, the new era in the history of Japan dawned with the present Emperor who is ruler, *de facto*, over the whole Empire. This important epoch marking the abolition of the dual form of Government is known as the Restoration.

After the abdication, the Ex-Shogun Keiki lived a life of retirement in Shizuoka as a private individual until he was honoured by the Emperor with the title of Prince in 1902, when he removed his residence to Tokio where he now lives in enjoyment of perfect health at the good old age of seventy.

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Shogunate it was possible for the Shogun to appoint a special officer invested with dictatorial powers, whenever an emergency arose calling for such appointment. The officer thus appointed was called the Tairo or Great Elder, and was invested with authority practically indisputable. It is most likely that the ladies of the Court prevailed upon the Shogun to appoint the Tairō, and recommended Ii Kamon-no-kami Naosuké, the Lord of Hikone, for the office, for they knew that he was the surest bulwark against the Mito influence.

All those intrigues had been going on during the absence of Lord Hotta, and on the third day after his return from his unsuccessful mission to Kioto, he found the Dictator suddenly appointed in the person of Ii Naosuké. His appointment to the office soon decided the question of the Heir to the Shogun, and the choice fell on the young Lord of Kishiu, one of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Family.

Though confronted with this second defeat in his political career, Lord Hotta's patience was not exhausted; and in order to make the best of the occasion for the good of the country he so dearly loved, he invited Mr. Harris to his mansion on June 5th (1858), and frankly told him the actual state of affairs then prevailing which made it unavoidable to postpone the signing of the Treaty. He explained that he was keenly alive to the danger of losing credit abroad by delaying the signing of the Treaty, but at the same time, he asked consideration on the part of the American

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Envoy of the national danger accompanying any sudden deviation from the policy followed for so many years to which the people had become so well accustomed by long experience; he also said that if the prevailing prejudice against opening the country were ignored, internal strife would follow, which he knew to be contrary to the good-will and friendly wishes of the President of the United States. He further added that such a result once invited, the arduous work of the American Envoy, so patiently carried out, would become entirely abortive. He earnestly pleaded that the signing should be postponed until such time as it might be safer for Japan to comply. Mr. Harris was very naturally disgusted. He pointed out the agreement of the date (the 5th day of the 3rd month) fixed for signing the Treaty, and said that if the Yedo Government had no authority to act up to the agreement, he would treat with the power duly authorized to conclude the Treaty. He strongly charged the Shogunate with the grave deception thus practised upon him and said that he would be held accountable by the President for the false position in which he had allowed himself to be placed in discharging the great responsibility reposed in him. He also indicated that as such deception was tantamount to defrauding the President himself, the gravity of the position could not be exaggerated. He further pleaded that the arduous work undertaken in spite of his poor health was actuated not only by his desire to take the lead in opening amicable relations with the Empire of Japan,

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but also by his sincere good-will for Japan in pursuance of the amicable motives of the President, which had for their ultimate object the peace of the whole world. Lord Hotta thanked the American Envoy for his friendly assurances and finally succeeded in convincing him that the objection thus raised was not due to absence of desire to conclude the treaty, but solely to fear of the inevitable consequence that would follow the new step if it should be precipitated on that occasion. Mr. Harris had to consent though very reluctantly to the unavoidable delay.

On the day following, or June 6th, the Shogun convened a meeting of the Chiefs of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa Family, and also the Daimios staying in Yedo.* The meeting was held in the Black Hall of the Castle and after announcing the Imperial Reply brought back by Hotta to the assembly, the Shogun caused his ministers to issue the following edict :—

“The Treaties that have been concluded with America at Kanagawa and Shimoda have already been submitted to the perusal of the Imperial Court, but the new treaty to be concluded being a grave national affair, a special mission was sent up to Kioto to obtain the Imperial sanction. The Imperial Reply to the object of

*According to the Statutes of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Daimios were required to live in alternate years in Yedo and in their own provinces, so that one half of the 300 Daimios always remained in the Capital of the Shogunate.

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the mission has just been announced. But it is distinctly understood that it is not the Imperial wish to declare hostility at this moment. The changed condition of the world, however, might invite a war (if the old policy be adhered to) and thus cause grave anxiety to the Imperial mind. The Shogun is convinced that no alternative is now left but to follow the new policy advocated ; but in pursuance of the Imperial Command the projected policy is hereby submitted to the deliberation of the assembly which it is expected will express its opinion after the most careful and prudent consideration."

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The real nature of the political agitation in Yedo. Hashimoto's memorandum indicative of the real motive of the Pro-Mito party. Kishiu party victorious. Lord Ii's reasons for his opposition against the Mito Clan. The portfolio of the Foreign Minister suddenly transferred to Lord Ii.

In order to get a deeper insight into the nature of the political movements which were then agitating the Yedo Government, a few words more on the question of the appointment of the Shogun's Heir may not be amiss.

The reigning Shogun Iyesada, who was the 13th of the Tokugawa dynasty, was dying without a son and heir to succeed him, and rivalry naturally arose among the eligible candidates and their followers. Lord Hotta, as already stated, was in favour of placing a full-grown capable person in the Shogunal chair, and in this, he was supported by the powerful Lords of Satsuma, Echizen, Tosa, and Uwajima. Hotta had long been lamenting the impaired health of the Shogun Iyesada, and inspired by his desire to have a strong hand at the helm of the Government to cope with the burning question of the day, coupled with his political motive to soothe the opposition led by the Senior Lord of Mito and thus win him over to his side, or at least reduce the force of opposition, he countenanced the proposal that

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Lord Keiki, a son of the obstinate leader of the Exclusion movement, be appointed as the Shogun's Heir.

The appointment of the Heir solely depended on the Shogun's personal choice, and Lord Hotta in order to carry out his purpose successfully had privately expressed his idea to the Shogun and restrained him from announcing his final choice. While the question was thus kept in abeyance, those opposing his idea were energetically fomenting their intrigues against the Mito candidate.

A memorandum presented by Hashimoto Sanai to his master, the Lord of Echizen, some years before the question of the appointment of the Shogun's Heir reached an acute stage, bears internal evidence by which the real motive of the pro-Mito party on the question may be judged. (Hashimoto was a young man of rare ability with a remarkable gift of foresight. He was greatly beloved and esteemed by his master; but as he had been too outspoken in his approval of appointing a full-grown heir to the Shogun, he was afterward punished with death by the Shogunate when the young Lord of Kishiu succeeded to the latter rank. He was only twenty-five years old when he was punished with death. A young man of great promise thus made a conspicuous addition to a long list of victims to the intrigues of their cruel enemies.)

The gist of his famous memorandum is as follows;—

“Our Empire of Japan now stands isolated and secluded in the Eastern sea in defiance of the formidable tendencies now prevailing throughout

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the world. Should this condition be kept up, the independence of Japan would be endangered. It is imperative that a decisive step should be taken, based on the principle of opening the country to foreign intercourse. To advocate the policy of expulsion against foreigners without making a careful survey of their power and military efficiency can only be classed as a policy born of an ignorant mind, too absurd to merit serious consideration. But even those who would advocate such a policy are not men entirely forgetful of the national interest, so that if they can be made to open their eyes to the great tendencies of the times, it would not be difficult to induce them to agree to the policy of opening the country. The latter policy, however, being a great national event, it would be necessary to effect drastic reforms in the internal administration simultaneously with the opening up of the country. The existing evils and abuses must be removed, and the military preparations increased. This is absolutely necessary for maintaining the national independence. In order to accomplish these great reforms it is necessary that the Shogunal Dais be occupied by an enlightened and able personage. The health of the reigning Shogun is too impaired to allow him to deal with the present crisis. Some might be inclined to say that even if the Shogun be too sickly and feeble to attend personally to affairs of state, a proper Minister secured, it should not be difficult to effect

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the reforms. This is a grave mistake, for facts prove it. The different Ministries of the Shogunate were not lacking in capable men. Such men as Matsudaira Etchiu-no-Kami, Ōkubo Kaga-no-Kami, Mizuno Echizen-no-Kami, and Abé Ise-no-Kami were all men of no ordinary calibre. But on their removal from office, either through want of trust by the Shogun, or through loss of popular confidence, their policies also went with them, always leaving the administration without a firm and settled line of policy. Each Ministry following its own policy, the administration of the Shogunate was never free from the evil of lack of unity and continuity in its political principles. The unsettled condition attending such a system of administration would not suffice even at a time of national tranquillity. Much more therefore should it be avoided at a period like the present when the country is confronted with the grave problem of opening commercial relations with other countries of the world. At this crucial moment, it is absolutely necessary to have a wise and full-grown Shogun who will be able to hold the reins of government in his own hand, and maintain the line of policy once determined after careful consideration of the different views of the Daimios on the question of the day. Without firm principle guiding the administration, in spite of Ministerial changes, the accomplishment of the great national reform of opening up the country to foreign

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intercourse can hardly be expected. The urgent necessity at the present moment is the speedy appointment of Lord Keiki as the Shogun's Heir through whom the accomplishment of great reforms in the national policy would be effected."

(For the benefit of readers in English, it may be added that, judging by the cordial and familiar relations existing between the Lord of Echizen and the Senior Lord of Mito, the latter could not have been kept ignorant of the ideas entertained by the writer of the above memorandum. Had the Senior Lord of Mito been uncompromisingly firm and convinced of his anti-foreign principles, he would certainly have objected to Hashimoto's being sent to Kioto by his master, as shown in the following paragraph, for the relations between the two Lords were such as permitted of a frank and candid exchange of opinions. The Senior Lord of Mito apparently made no objection to his going there with his master's commission to expound his views to the Court officials. Hashimoto's ideas, as embodied in the memorandum, were decidedly contrary to the advocacy of the Senior Lord of Mito so far as the question of foreign relations was concerned. The silent connivance of the latter with the mission on which Hashimoto was sent justifies the suspicion that in his mind preponderance was given to the accession of one of his sons to the Shogunate, over the national problem of foreign relations, and that he was perhaps quite prepared to withdraw his opposition if his son as Shogun should decide to open the country.)

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Commissioned by his master, the Lord of Echizen, the writer of the memorandum, proceeded to Kioto to expound his ideas to the Prime Minister of the Imperial Court so as to win him over to his side. Young as he was, Hashimoto made a very favourable impression upon Prince Kujo, the Premier, and also on Marquis Sanjo. The personality of Lord Keiki and his ability being already well known among the high Court officials, Hashimoto's mission promised full success. Lord Hotta was still in Kioto doing his utmost to obtain the Imperial Sanction for the new policy of the Shogunate.

On the 22nd day of the 3rd month (May 3rd, 1858), a note was issued by the Imperial Court approving of the appointment of a full-grown heir to the Shogun, and on the 25th day (May 6th) formal approval by the Throne was to have been issued; but the party advocating the appointment of the young Lord of Kishiu to the Shogunal Heirship did not remain idle, for they quietly succeeded in prevailing upon the Premier Prince Kujo to have the words "full-grown and enlightened" expunged from the Imperial Order for the appointment of the Shogun's Heir, and when the Order was formally announced, those words were entirely left out. Thus the object of the party in favour of Lord Keiki was totally frustrated, while the Kishiu party realized a complete success in thus securing an opportunity for a speedy announcement of the young prince as the chosen Heir to the Shogunal authority.

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In effecting this success, the argument of Lord Ii Kamon-no-Kami was based on the following reasons:— (1) The contention of the Mito party that the reigning Shogun was too weak to deal with the national crisis was totally unfounded on fact, for the Shogun was never so deficient in ability as represented by the Mito party; (2) the appointment of the Heir, as recommended by the Mito party, was equivalent to urging abdication on the Shogun in authority, an act inexcusably trespassing beyond the limits of any vassal's behaviour; (3) the appointment of a full-grown heir, as advocated by the Mito party, would establish a bad precedent diametrically opposed to the principle of succession of the Shogunal authority, for even if the Shogun were deficient in capacity, the prevailing usage of the Tokugawa Shogunate would make good this deficiency by the advice and guidance of its Ministry; (4) to appoint an heir against the Shogun's wish was contrary to the duty of his vassals: the Prince of Kishiu, though young in years, was the nearest relation to the reigning Shogun, and was moreover possessed of abilities and virtues which qualified him for the succession and warranted support in his appointment; (5) Lord Keiki, though full-grown and enlightened, is a son of the Senior Lord of Mito who had influenced the Court of Kioto with a policy of exclusion contrary to the policy of the Shogunate, thus alienating the Yedo Government from the Imperial Court. This action on the part of the Mito Clan, which should have supported the Shogunate as one of the 'Three Houses, was

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inexcusable in the opinion of Lord Ii Kamon-no-Kami; hence his uncompromising attitude toward the Mito Clan.

Just at this time when both parties were busy with their intrigues, such men as Iwase, Nagai and others tried to have Lord Ii deprived of the dictatorial authority of the Tairo, and to have Lord Keiki appointed as Regent, with the Lord of Echizen as president of the Yedo Ministry, retaining at the same time the services of Lord Hotta as Minister of Foreign Affairs. But it was too late, for the management of foreign affairs was suddenly transferred from Lord Hotta to Lord Ii Kamon-no-kami as the Great Elder (Tairo) of the Shogunate.

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The signing of the Treaty officially postponed. Arrival of the American and Russian Ships. Expected coming of the British and French Fleet. The Treaty finally signed. Ii and Hotta irreconcilable. Hotta disgraced. Retires from active life. Suddenly sentenced to life confinement in his own house. Chaotic conditions in Kioto and Yedo. Ii assassinated. Richardson killed. Kago-shima bombarded. Hotta breathes his last. His personality epitomized.

Before effecting the transfer of authority, Lord Hotta sent a note to Mr. Harris, countersigned by his colleagues, in which he stated the unavoidable postponement of the signing of the Treaty, owing to the internal situation, until the 27th day of the 7th month (September 4th, 1858), assuring the American Envoy at the same time that no treaty with any other nation would be concluded within thirty days after the Treaty with the United States had been signed.

Postponement thus secured, the heavy pressure was somewhat relieved, but another surprise was in store, for on the 13th day of the 6th month (July 23rd, 1858) two American ships appeared at Shimoda, which was followed on the 16th day (July 26th) by the arrival of the Russian ships. Reports also reached the Yedo Government that the English Fleet under Lord Elgin and the French under Baron Gros were soon expected to arrive for the purpose of concluding treaties with the Empire of Japan.

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Mr. Harris urged upon the diplomatic officials of the Shogunate the advisability of speedily signing the Treaty, in conformity with international usage, before it was too late. The Yedo Government was now fully convinced of the urgent nature of the question at issue, and Lord Ii Kamon-no-Kami sent Iwasé and Inouye to Kanagawa on the 20th day of the month (July 30th) authorizing them to sign the Treaty which had been concluded between Lord Hotta and the American Envoy. (The Treaty bears the date of July 29th 1858.)

The task of great difficulty and danger which Lord Hotta had to brave in drafting the Treaty was now fully crowned with success in thus assuming its final form and one might be inclined to conclude that the successful consummation of the work initiated by him would have induced him to remain in the Ministry, though not as Foreign Minister; but there were other reasons which made it impossible for him to retain his office with Lord Ii invested with dictatorial authority. On the advice of one of his colleagues, Lord Hotta pleaded illness from the day following the signing of the Treaty, and stayed away from office.

The Treaty, however, having been signed while he yet remained in office, his name is included among the signatories of the formal report submitted to the Court of Kioto by Lord Ii announcing the signing of the Treaty with the United States.

An explanatory note accompanied the Report which was practically a recapitulation of what had been

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frequently stated before, but at the same time, it emphasized the urgency of the case which demanded prompt action in order to avoid unfortunate complications similar to those which China had to experience. It also stated the assurance given by the American Envoy that he was willing to act as a friendly mediator, should any difficulties arise with the English or French. The strengthening of the national defences by a speedy completion of military preparations was also promised in the same note, concluding with a strong assurance on the part of the Shogun's Government of its intention to resort to such measures as would relieve the Imperial mind of any form of anxiety.

On the 23rd day of the 6th month (August 2nd 1858) we find Lord Hotta *dismissed* from his office. This coup came not in the mild form of accepting his resignation, but was little short of a degradation. This was brought about by his attitude on the question of the Shogun's Heir. He had recommended Lord Keiki, a proposal entirely opposed to the policy of the newly appointed Dictator.

Thus ended almost in ignominy the public life of one whose advanced knowledge and tireless energy had laid the foundation for the future development of the Empire. Sentiment again conquered reason; and this honest, capable statesman was compelled to close the chapter of his brilliant public career with a degrading dismissal from his exalted position in the Yedo Ministry.

Lord Hotta quietly endured adversity, and from the day of his dismissal he sealed his lips on foreign

CHAPTER XIV.

questions. Inward satisfaction with the work done by him, and a firm conviction of the benefit accruing to his country therefrom, must have been a source of no small consolation, though he was never known to have spoken in that way. While sympathizing with the faithful statesman thus undeservingly and cruelly degraded in the eyes of the people, we are justified in believing that his realization of the conscientious manner in which he had discharged his duties at the most critical time in the history of his country must have been a powerful factor in keeping up his mental equilibrium in the midst of adversities besetting him from on all sides.

The degradation, however, did not stop at his dismissal from his office, for a greater humiliation was in store for him at the hands of his inveterate enemies, which showed itself four years after his retirement from public life.

On the 6th day of the 9th month of the 6th year of Ansei (1859) we find Lord Hotta retired from the active work of even attending to the government of his own Clan. Transmitting the Lordship of the Sakura Clan to his son, he retired into private life under the name of Kenzan. But his political enemies were too revengeful to leave him alone even at this stage of his life, for on the 20th day of the 11th month of the 2nd year of Bunkiu (1862) an official note was sent to the Lord of Sakura reprimanding his father, the ex-Lord, for the grave offences committed by him in his dealings with foreigners,

CHAPTER XIV.

while in office, and *sentencing him to life confinement in his own house.*

Two years before this, Lord Ii Kamon-no-kō, the Dictator, was assassinated by an infuriated band of exclusionists on March 23rd 1860; and since that time the anti-foreign influence assumed terrible predominance and constantly sought victims on whom to wreak vengeance. So unreasonable an act as sentencing a person, who had already rendered his account, to additional and heavier punishment of life confinement could be performed only in the Reign of Darkness. The black cloud of ignorance and prejudice covered the whole of the political horizon both in Yedo and Kioto.

CHAPTER XIV.

was removed shortly before he departed to join the spirits of his ancestors.

The moral courage of Lord Hotta in upholding his policy against stupendous opposition, and in quietly resigning himself to the persecution of his enemies after most arduous labours fully deserving of universal appreciation, raises its possessor far above the level of ordinary mortals. It would not be too much to call him a moral hero of an extraordinary type. Besides his value as a brave and conscientious statesman, he has left behind him in this world the lasting example of a life full of lessons for short-sighted, impatient grumbling workers, so numerous everywhere in the East and the West. He is a great man who like Hotta can refrain from murmuring and complaining when his good work is not only left without deserving appreciation, but is met with adverse criticisms from an ungrateful public. He is a great man of still rarer type who, on the strength of his own conviction, can boldly defy public opinion; and such has been the political career of the Lord of Sakura as Foreign Minister of the Tokugawa Shogunate at the most critical period of Japanese history.

May his memory remain forever green and untarnished in the History of Foreign Relations of the Great Empire of Japan!



APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

TREATY OF AMITY AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE EMPIRE OF JAPAN.

SIGNED AT YEDO, July 29th, 1858. (19th day of 6th month, 5th year of Ansei). Ratifications exchanged at Washington, May 22nd, 1860. (3rd day of 4th month, 1st year of Manyen).

The President of the United States of America and his Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, desiring to establish on firm and lasting foundations, the relations of peace and friendship now happily existing between the two countries, and to secure the best interest of their respective citizens and subjects, by encouraging, facilitating and regulating their industry and trade, have resolved to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce, for this purpose, and have therefore named as Their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

The President of the United States, His Excellency Townsend Harris, Consul-General of the United States of America for the Empire of Japan, and His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan, Their Excellencies Ino-oo-ye, Prince of Sinano, and Iwasay, Prince of Higo, who, after having communicated to each other, their re-

ARTICLE I., II.

spective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon, and concluded the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

There shall henceforward be perpetual peace and friendship between the United States of America and His Majesty the Tycoon of Japan and his successors.

The President of the United States may appoint a diplomatic agent to reside at the city of Yedo, and consuls or consular agents to reside at any or all of the ports in Japan, which are opened for American commerce by this treaty. The diplomatic agent and consul-general of the United States, shall have the right to travel freely in any part of the empire of Japan, from the time they enter on the discharge of their official duties.

The government of Japan may appoint a diplomatic agent to reside at Washington, and consuls or consular agents for any or all of the ports of the United States. The diplomatic agent and consul-general of Japan may travel freely in any part of the United States from the time they arrive in the country.

ARTICLE II.

The President of the United States, at the request of the Japanese government, will act as a friendly *mediator* in such matters of difference, as may arise, *between the government of Japan and any European power.*

ARTICEL III.

The ships of war of the United States shall render friendly aid and assistance, to such Japanese vessels, as they may meet on the high seas, so far as can be done, without a breach of neutrality, and all American consuls, residing at ports visited by Japanese vessels, shall also give them such friendly aid, as may be permitted by the laws of the respective countries, in which they reside.

ARTICEL III.

In addition to the ports of Simoda and Hakodate, the following ports and towns shall be opened on the dates respectively appended to them, that is to say:

Kanagawa, on the (4th of July, 1859.) fourth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine.

Nagasaki, on the (4th of July, 1859.) fourth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine.

Nee-e-gata, on the (1st of January, 1860.) first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

Hiogo, on the (1st of January, 1863.) first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

If Nee-e-gata is found to be unsuitable as a harbour, another port on the west coast of Nippon shall be selected by the two governments in lieu thereof.

Six months after the opening of Kanagawa, the port of Simoda shall be closed as a place of residence and trade for American citizens.

In all the foregoing ports and towns, American citizens may permanently reside, they shall have the right to lease ground, and purchase the buildings thereon, and may erect dwellings and warehouses. But

ARTICLE III.

no fortification or place of military strength, shall be erected under pretense of building dwelling or warehouse, and to see that this article is observed, the Japanese authorities shall have the right to inspect, from time to time, any buildings which are being erected, altered or repaired.

The place, which the Americans shall occupy for their buildings, and the harbor regulations shall be arranged by the American consul, and the authorities of each place, and if they cannot agree, the matter shall be referred to, and settled by the American diplomatic agent and the Japanese government.

No wall, fence, or gate, shall be erected by the Japanese, around the place of residence of the Americans, or anything done, which may prevent a free egress and ingress to the same.

From the (1st of January, 1862.) first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, Americans shall be allowed to reside in the city of Yedo, and from the (1st of January, 1863.) first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, in the city of Osaca, for the purposes of trade only. In each of these two cities, a suitable place, within which they may hire houses, and the distance they may go, shall be arranged by the American diplomatic agent and the government of Japan.

Americans may freely buy from Japanese and sell to them, any articles that either may have for sale, without the intervention of any Japanese officer, in such purchase or sale, or in making or receiving payment

ARTICLE IV.

for the same, and all classes of the Japanese may purchase, sell, keep or use, any articles sold to them by the Americans.

The Japanese government will cause this clause to be made public, in every part of the empire, as soon as the ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged.

Munitions of war shall only be sold to the Japanese government and foreigners.

No rice or wheat shall be exported from Japan as cargo, but all Americans resident in Japan, and ships for their crews and passengers, shall be furnished with sufficient supplies of the same.

The Japanese government will sell from time to time, at public auction, any surplus quantity of copper, that may be produced.

Americans, residing in Japan, shall have the right to employ Japanese as servants or in any other capacity.

ARTICLE IV.

Duties shall be paid to the government of Japan, on all goods landed in the country, and on all articles of Japanese production, that are exported as cargo, according to the tariff hereunto appended.

If the Japanese custom-house officers are dissatisfied with the value placed on any goods, by the owner, they may place a value thereon, and offer to take the goods at that valuation. If the owner refuses to accept the offer, he shall pay duty on such valuation. If the offer be accepted by the owner, the purchase money shall

ARTICLE V.

be paid to him without delay, and without any abatement or discount.

Supplies for the use of the United States navy may be landed at Kanagawa, Hakodate and Nagasaki, and stored in Warehouses, in the custody of an officer of the American government, without the payment of any duty. But if any such supplies are sold in Japan, the purchaser shall pay the proper duty to the Japanese authorities.

The importation of opium is prohibited, and any American vessel coming to Japan, for the purposes of trade, having more than (3) three catties (four pounds avoirdupois) weight of opium on board, such surplus quantity, shall be seized and destroyed by the Japanese authorities.

All goods imported into Japan, and which have paid the duty fixed by this treaty, may be transported by the Japanese, into any part of the empire, without the payment of any tax, excise or transit duty, whatever.

No higher duties shall be paid by Americans on goods imported into Japan, than are fixed by this treaty, nor shall any higher duties be paid by Americans, than are levied on the same description of goods, if imported in Japanese vessels, or the vessels of any other nation.

ARTICLE V.

All foreign coin shall be current in Japan, and pass for its corresponding weight of Japanese coin of the same description.

ARTICLE VI.

Americans and Japanese may freely use foreign coin in making payments to each other.

As some time will elapse before the Japanese will be acquainted with the value of foreign coin, the Japanese Government will, for the period of one year after the opening of each harbor furnish the Americans with Japanese coin, in exchange for theirs, equal weights being given and no discount taken for recoinage.

Coins of all descriptions (with the exception of Japanese copper coin) may be exported from Japan, and foreign gold and silver uncoined.

ARTICLE VI.

Americans, committing offenses against Japanese, shall be tried in American Consular Courts, and when found guilty, shall be punished according to American law.

Japanese, committing offenses against Americans, shall be tried by the Japanese authorities, and punished according to Japanese law.

The Consular Courts shall be open to Japanese creditors, to enable them to recover their just claims against American citizens, and the Japanese Courts shall in like manner be open to American citizens, for the recovery of their just claims against Japanese.

All claims for forfeitures or penalties for violations of this treaty, or of the articles regulating trade, which are appended hereunto, shall be sued for in the consular courts, and all recoveries shall be delivered to the Japanese authorities.

ARTICLE VII.

Neither the American nor Japanese governments are to be held responsible for the payment for any debts, contracted by their respective citizens or subjects.

ARTICLE VII.

In the opened harbors of Japan, Americans shall be free to go where they please, whthin the following limits :

At Kanagawa, the river Lokugo (which empties into the bay of Yedo, between Kawasaki and Shinagawa) and (10) ten ri in any other direction.

At Hakodate, (10) ten ri in any direction.

At Hiogo, (10) ten ri in any direction, that of Kioto excepted, which city shall not be approached nearer than (10) ten ri. The crews of vessels resorting to Hiogo shall not cross the river Enagawa, which empties into the bay between Hiogo and Osaca.

The distances shall be measured inland from the goyoso or town-hall of each of the foregoing harbors, the ri being equal to (4275) four thousand two hundred and seventy-five yards, American measure.

At Nagasaki, Americans may go into any part of the imperial domain in its vicinity.

The boundaries of Nee-gata, or the place, that may be substituted for it, shall be settled by the American diplomatic agent and the government of Japan.

Americans who may have been convicted of felony, or twice convicted of misdemeanors, shall not go more than (1) one Japanese ri inland, from the places of their respective residences, and all persons so convicted,

ARTICLE VIII., IX.

shall lose their right of permanent residence in Japan, and the Japanese authorities may require them to leave the country.

A reasonable time shall be allowed to all such persons to settle their affairs, and the American consular authority shall, after an examination into the circumstances of each case, determine the time to be allowed, but such time shall not in any case exceed one year, to be calculated from the time the person shall be free, to attend to his affairs.

ARTICLE VIII.

Americans in Japan shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and for this purpose shall have the right, to erect suitable places of worship. No injury shall be done to such buildings, nor any insult be offered to the religious worship of the Americans.

American citizens shall not injure any Japanese temple or mia, or offer any insult or injury to Japanese religious ceremonies, or to the objects of their worship.

The Americans and Japanese shall not do anything, that may be calculated to excite religious animosity. The government of Japan has already abolished the practice of trampling on religious emblems.

ARTICLE IX.

When requested by the American consul, the Japanese authorities will cause the arrest of all deserters and fugitives from justice, receive in jail all persons, held as prisoners, by the consul, and give to the consul

ARTICLE X., XI.¹

such assistance, as may be required to enable him to enforce the observance of the laws, by the Americans, who are on land, and to maintain order among the shipping. For all such services, and for the support of prisoners kept in confinement, the consul shall in all cases pay a just compensation.

ARTICLE X.

The Japanese Government may purchase or construct in the United States, ships of war, steamers, merchant ships, whaleships, cannon, munitions of war, and arms of all kinds, and any other things it may require. It shall have the right to engage in the United States, scientific, naval and military men, artisans of all kinds, and mariners to enter into its service. All purchases made for the government of Japan, may be exported from the United States, and all persons engaged for its service may freely depart from the United States. *Provided*,—That no articles that are contraband of war shall be exported, nor any persons engaged to act in a naval or military capacity, while Japan shall be at war with any power in amity with the United States.

ARTICLE XI.

The articles for the regulation of trade, which are appended to this treaty, shall be considered as forming a part of the same, and shall be equally binding on both the contracting parties to this treaty, and on their citizens and subjects.

ARTICLE XII., XIII.

ARTICLE XII.

Such of the provisions of the treaty made by Commodore Perry, and signed at Kanagawa, on the 31st of March, 1854, as conflict with the provisions of this treaty, are hereby revoked and as all the provisions of a convention, executed by the cōsul-general of the United States and governors of Simoda, on the 17th of June, 1857, are incorporated in this treaty, that convention is also revoked.

The person charged with the diplomatic relations of the United States in Japan, in conjunction with such person or persons, as may be appointed for that purpose, by the Japanese government, shall have power to make such rules and regulations, as may be required to carry into full and complete effect, the provisions of this treaty, and the provisions of the articles regulating trade, appended thereunto.

ARTICLE XIII.

After the (4th of July, 1872.) fourth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, upon the desire of either the American or Japanese government, and on one year's notice given by either party, this treaty, and such portions of the treaty of Kanagawa, as remain unrevoked by this treaty, together with the regulations of trade hereunto annexed, or those that may be hereafter introduced, shall be subject to revision, by commissioners, appointed on both sides, for this purpose, who will be empowered to decide on, and

ARTICLE XIV.

insert therein, such amendments as experience shall prove to be desirable.

ARTICLE XIV.

This treaty shall go into effect on the (4th of July, 1859.) fourth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, on or before which day the ratifications of the same, shall be exchanged at the city of Washington, but if from any unforeseen cause, the ratifications can not be exchanged by that time, the treaty shall still go into effect, at the date above mentioned.

The act of ratification on the part of the United States, shall be verified by the signature of the President of the United States, countersigned by the Secretary of State, and sealed with the seal of the United States.

The act of ratification on the part of Japan, shall be verified by the name and seal of His Majesty the Tycoon, and by the seals and signatures of such of his high officers, as he may direct.

This treaty is executed in quadruplicate, each copy being written in the English, Japanese and Dutch languages, all the versions having the same meaning and intention, but the Dutch version shall be considered as being the original.

In witness whereof, the above named Plenipotentiaries have hereunto set their hands and seals at the city of Yedo, this twenty-ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and

ARTICLE XIV.

fifty-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-third, corresponding to the Japanese era, the nineteenth day of the sixth month of the fifth year of Ansei Mma.

(L. S.) Inooye Sinanono Kami.
" Iwasay Higono Kami.
" Townsend Harris.

リベ界定ハ代或ト定上アム境地
横文ルニ新潟據シヲノ追塲所アム境地
×

留ノ塲所ヨリ一里外ニ不可出其者等ハ日本奉行所ヨリ國地退去ノ儀ナ其地在留ノ亞米利加コンシユルニ達スベシ其者共諸引合等奉行所並ニコンシユル糺濟ノ上退去ノ期限猶豫ノ儀ハコンシユルヨリ申立ニ依テ相協フベシ尤其期限ハ決シテ一箇年ナ越エベカラズ

第八條

日本ニ在ル亞米利加人自ラ其國ノ宗法ナ念シ禮拜堂ヲ居留塲ノ内ニ置モ隙リナシ並ニ其建物ヲ破壊シ亞米利加人宗法ナ自ラ念ズルヲ妨ル事ナシ亞米利加人日本人ノ堂宮ヲ毀傷スル事ナク又決シテ日本神佛ノ禮拜ヲ妨ゲ神體佛像ヲ毀ル事アルベカラズ
双方ノ人民互ニ宗旨ニ付テノ爭論アルベカラズ日本長崎役所ニ於テ贈給ノ仕來ハ既ニ廢セリ

第九條

亞米利加コンシユルノ願ニ依テ都テ出奔人並ニ裁許ノ塲ヨリ逃去シ者ナ召捕又ハコンシユル捕ヘ置タル罪人ヲ獄ニ繫ケ事協フベシ且陸地並ニ船中ニ在ル亞米利加人ニ不法チ威メ規則ヲ遵守セシムルガ爲メニコンシユル申立次第助力スベシ右等ノ諸入費並ニ願ニ依テ日本ノ獄ニ繫ギタル者ノ雜費ハ都テ亞米利加コンシユルヨリ償フベシ

第十條

日本政府合衆國ヨリ軍艦蒸漁船商船鯨漁船大砲軍器並ニ兵器ノ類其他要需ノ諸物ナ買入レ又ハ製作ヲ詠ヘ或ハ其國ノ學者海陸軍法ノ士諸科ノ職人並ニ船夫ナ雇フ事意ノ

第六條

日本人ニ對シ法ヲ犯セル亞米利加人ハ亞米利加コンシユル裁斷所ニテ吟咏ノ上亞米利加ノ法度ヲ以テ罰スペシ亞米利加人ヘ對シ法ヲ犯シタル日本人ハ日本役人糺ノ上日本ノ法度ヲ以テ罰スペシ日本奉行所亞米利加コンシユル裁斷所ハ雙方商人通債ノ事ヲモ公ケニ取扱フベシ

都ヲ條約中ノ規定並ニ別冊ニ記セル所ノ法則ヲ犯スニ於テハコンシユルヘ申達シ取上品並ニ過料ハ日本役人ヘ渡スペシ兩國ノ役人ハ雙方商民取引ノ事ニ付テ差構フ事ナシ

第七條

日本開港ノ場所ニ於テ亞米利加人遊歩ノ規程左ノ如シ

神奈川 六郷川筋ヲ限トシテ其他ハ各方ヘ凡十里

箱館 各方ヘ凡十里

兵庫 京都ヲ距ル事十里ノ地ヘハ亞米利加人立入ザル筈ニ付キ其方角ヲ除キ各方ヘ十里且兵庫ニ來ル船々ノ乗組人ハ猪名川ヨリ海灣迄ノ川筋ヲ越ユベカラズ

都テ里數ハ各港ノ奉行所又ハ御用所ヨリ陸路ノ程度ナリ(一里ハ亞米利加ノ四千二百七十五ヤルド日本ノ凡三十三町四十八間一尺二寸五分ニ當ル)

長崎 其周圍ニアル御料所ヲ限リトス

新潟 ハ治定ノ上境界ヲ定ムベシ

亞米利加人重立タル惡事アリテ裁斷ヲ請又ハ不身持ニテ再ビ裁許ニ處セラレン者ハ居

第四條

總テ國地ニ輸入輸出ノ品々別冊ノ通日本役所へ運上ヲ納ムベシ
日本ノ運上所ニテ荷主申立ノ價ヲ奸アリト察スル時ハ運上役ヨリ相當ノ價ヲ付ケ其荷
物ヲ買入ル事ヲ談ズベシ荷主若シ之テ否ム時ハ運上所ヨリ付ケタル價ニ從テ運上ヲ納
ムベシ承允スル時ハ其價ヲ以テ直ニ買上ベシ

合衆國海軍用意ノ品神奈川長崎箱館ノ内ニ陸揚シ庫内ニ藏メテ亞米利加番人守護スル
モノハ運上ノ沙汰ニ及バズ若シ其品ヲ賣拂フ時ハ買入ル人ヨリ規定ノ運上ヲ日本役所
ニ納ムベシ

阿片ノ輸入嚴禁タリ若シ亞米利加商船三斤以上ヲ持渡ラバ其過量ノ品ハ日本役人之ヲ
取上ベシ

輸入ノ荷物定例ノ運上納濟ノ上ハ日本人ヨリ國中ニ輸送ストモ別ニ運上ヲ取立ル事ナ
シ亞米利加人輸入スル荷物ハ此條約ニ定メタルヨリ餘分ノ運上ヲ納ル事ナク又日本船
及ビ他國ノ商船ニテ外國ヨリ輸入セル同シ荷物ノ運上高ト同様タルベシ

第五條

外國ノ諸貨幣ハ日本貨幣同種類ノ同量ヲ以テ通用スベシ(金ハ金、銀ハ銀ト量目ヲ以テ比
較スルヲ云)雙方ノ國人互ニ物價ヲ償フニ日本ト外國トノ貨幣ヲ用ユル妨ナシ
日本人外國ノ貨幣ニ償ザレバ開港ノ後凡一箇年ノ間各港ノ役所ヨリ日本ノ貨幣ヲ以テ
亞米利加人顧次第引換渡スベシ而後鑄替ノ爲メ分割ヲ出スニ及バズ日本諸貨幣ハ(銅錢
ヲ除ク)輸出スル事ヲ得並ニ外國ノ金銀ハ貨幣ニ鑄ザルモ輸出スベシ

買フ事妨ナク且住宅倉庫ヲ建ル事ヲ許スベシト雖之ヲ建ルニ托シテ要害ノ場所ヲ取
建ル事ハ決シテ成サムルベシ此撻ヲ堅クセン爲ニ其建物ヲ新築改造修補ナド爲ル事ア
ラソ時ニハ日本役人是ヲ見分スル事當然タルベシ
亞米利加人建物ノ爲ニ借り得ル一箇ノ場所並ニ港々ノ定則ハ各港ノ役人ト亞米利加
ンシユルト議定スペシ若シ議定シ難キ時ハ其事件ヲ日本政府ト亞米利加ナプロマチ
キアゲントニ示シテ處置セシムベシ

其居留場ノ周圍ニ門墻ヲ設ケズ出入自在ニスベシ

江 月 午三月ヨリ凡四十四ヶ月ノ後ヨリ

千八百六十二年一月一日

大坂 同断凡五十六箇月ノ後ヨリ

千八百六十三年一月一日

右二箇所ハ亞米利加人只商賣ヲ爲ス間ニノミ逗留スル事ヲ得ベシ此兩所ノ町ニ於テ亞
米利加人建家ヲ價ヲ以テ借ルベキ相當ナル一區ノ場所並ニ散步スペキ規程ハ追テ日本
役人ト亞米利加ノプロマチアゲントト談判スペシ
雙方ノ國人品物ヲ賣買スル事總テ障リナク其拂方等ニ付テハ日本役人是ニ立會ハズ諸
日本人亞米利加人ヨリ得タル品ヲ賣買シ或ハ所持スル俱ニ妨ケナシ○軍用ノ諸物ハ日
本役所ノ外ヘ賣ルベカラズ最外國人互ノ取引ハ差構アル事ナシ此箇條ハ條約本書ノ爲
取替済ノ上ハ日本國內ヘ觸渡スペシ米並ニ麥ハ日本逗留ノ亞米利加人並ニ船ニ乗組タ
ル者及ビ船中旅客食料ノ爲ノ用意ハ與フトモ積荷トシテ輸出スル事ヲ許サズ○日本產
スル所ノ銅餘分アレバ日本役所ニテ其時々公ケノ入札ヲ以テ拂渡スヘシ○在留ノ亞米
利加人日本ノ賤民ヲ雇ヒ且諸用事ニ充ル事ヲ許スベシ

第二條

日本國ト歐羅巴中ノ或ル國トノ間ニ差障起ル時ハ日本政府ノ囑ニ應ジ合衆國ノ大統領和親ノ媒ト爲リテ報フベシ

合衆國ノ軍艦大洋ニテ行過タル日本船ヘ公平ナル友睦ノ取計アルベシ且亞米利加コンシユルノ居留スル港ニ日本船ノ入ル事アラバ其各國ノ規定ニヨリテ友睦ノ取計アルベシ

第三條

下田箱館ノ港ノ外次ニイフ所ノ場所ヲ左ノ期限ヨリ開クベシ

神奈川 午三月ヨリ凡十五箇月ノ後ヨリ

長崎 西洋紀元千八百五十九年七月四日

西洋紀元千八百五十九年七月四日

新潟 午三月ヨリ凡二十箇月ノ後ヨリ

西洋紀元千八百六十年一月一日

兵庫 午三月ヨリ凡五十六箇月後ヨリ

西洋紀元千八百六十三年一月一日

作海テ後同所前横文ニハ
ルニニ於於前後同所前後ニシテ
ニ西ニシテ

若シ新潟港ヲ開キ雖キ事アラバ其代リトシテ同所前後ニ於テ一港ヲ別ニ撰アベシ
神奈川港ヲ開ク後六箇月ニシテ下田港ハ鎖スペシ此箇條ノ内ニ載セタル各地ハ亞米利
加人ニ居留テ許スベシ居留ノ者ハ一箇ノ地ヲ償テ出シテ借り又其所ニ建物アレバ之ヲ

日本國米利堅合衆國修好通商條約

安政五年戊午六月十九日(西曆一千八百五十八年第七月二十九日)
於江戸調印萬延元年庚申四月三日(西曆一千八百六十年第五月廿二日)於華盛頓本書交換

帝國大日本大君ト亞米利加合衆國大統領ト親睦ノ意ヲ堅クシ且永續セシメン爲ニ兩國ノ人民貿易ヲ通ズル事ヲ處置シ其交際ノ厚カラシ事ヲ欲スルガ爲ニ懇親及ヒ貿易ノ條約ヲ取結ア事ヲ決シ日本大君ハ其事ヲ非上信濃守岩瀬肥後守ニ命ジ合衆國大統領ハ日本ニ差越タル亞米利加合衆國ノコンシユルゼ子ラールトウンセントハリスニ命ジ雙方委任ノ書ヲ照應シテ下文ノ條々ヲ合議決定ス

第一條

向後日本大君ト亞米利加合衆國ト世々親睦ナルベシ
日本政府ハ華盛頓ニ居留スル政事ニ預ル役人ヲ任ジ又合衆國ノ各港ノ内ニ居留スル諸取締ノ役人及ビ貿易ヲ處置スル役人ヲ任ズベシ其政事ニ預ル役人及ビ頑立タル取締ノ役人ハ合衆國ニ到着ノ日ヨリ其國ノ部内ヲ旅行スベシ○合衆國ノ大統領ハ江戸コ居留スルダブロマチーキアゲントヲ任ジ又此約書ニ載ル亞米利加人民貿易ノ爲ニ開キタル日本ノ各港ノ内ニ居留スルコンシユル又ハコンシユラルアゲント等ヲ任ズベシ其日本ニ居留スルダブロマチーキアゲント並ニコンシユルゼ子ラールハ職務ヲ行フ時ヨリ日本國ノ部内ヲ旅行スル免許アルベシ

横文
君及日本ニ
ト其大ハ
ア後嗣レ

附
錄

第八章 補 遺

ハルリスの日記中に曰く「一月十六日（一八五八年）再び閻老ヲ訪フ、閻老ハ前日ノ余ノ提議並ニ文書等ハ都ベテ大君ニ捧呈セラレタルヲ語リ、大君ハ大統領ノ好意ニ對シテ深厚ナル好意ヲ表セル旨ヲ述ベ、余ノ三箇條ノ提議ニ對スル大君ノ回答ヲ傳ヘテ曰ク

（第一）外國使臣江戸在住ノ件差許サル、但シ其位置及ビ權限等ハ更ニ協議ノ上決定ノ事

（第二）自由貿易差許サル、但シ貿易上詳細ノ事項ヲ協定スル爲メ、追テ委員ヲ選任スル事

（第三）既ニ三貿易港ヲ開ケル上ハ、日本ハ小國ノ事ナレバ、此上開港スル事能ハズ、但シ下田ハ開港揚トシテ不適當ナレバ、他ノ地點ヲ以テ之ニ充ツベキモ、三港以上ヲ開カザル事

余ハ斯カル制限アリテハ完全ナル條約タラシムル能ハズ、是非トモ日本海沿岸ニ一港を開クノ必要ヲ説キタリ。

時ニ日本側ノ協定委員選任セラレテ、其翌々日ニ第一回ノ會見アル旨ヲ告ゲラレタレバ余ハ閻老ニ全權委任狀及ビ其譯文ヲ余ニ交付スペキモノナルヲ告ゲタリ、余ハ更ニ閻老ニ對シ、全權委任狀交換後條約草案ヲ日本委員ノ手ニ交付スペシ、是レ談判進行上ニ便ナルベク、余ノ態度ハニ公明正大ヲ期スルモノナリト語リタルニ、閻老頗ル満足ノ意ヲ表セリ、余ハ下田ヲ去ルニ先チテ該條約草案ヲ起草セリ、日本側ヨリノ提案ナキ中、早クモ機先ヲ制セント欲シ、之が爲ニ苦心セル事尋常ナラザリシナリ」（詳細ハ原文ヲ參照セヨ）

第七章 補遺

ハルリスは、其日記中に、堀田闇老訪問當時の光景を詳記せり、其要に曰く「世界ノ大勢ハ日本ヲシテ鎖國政策ヲ拠棄セシムルニ至ルベク、產業ノ開發宜シキヲ得バ、海軍モ振興シ、國亦富ムベシト説キ、更ニ列國相繼イテ開國ヲ迫リ來ラバ、日本ハ之ニ從フカ、戰爭ノ慘劇ヲ演ズルノ外ナカルベク、縱シ開戦ニ至ラザル迄モ、間断ナク邊境變ヲ傳フベク、且ツ夫レ訂約ニハ自ラ時機ノアルアリ、艦隊ヲ以テ臨メル時ノ要求ハ、余ノ如キ一使節ノ要求ノ如ク種當ナラザルベシ、一使節ノ要求ヲ拒ミテ之ヲ艦隊ニ許サバ、人民ニ對スル幕府ノ威信地ヲ拂ヒ、其勢力ヲ弱カラシムベシトテ、千八百三十九年ヨリ千八百四十一年ニ至ル清國事變ノ例ヲ引イテ之ヲ論證セリ……又曰く「余ハ一艦艇ヲモ率キズ、單身江戸ニ來リタルモノナレバ、余ト商議スルハ日本ノ名譽ヲ保ツ所以ナレバ、能ク細心ノ討議ヲ經、漸々逐ヒ断ジテ開國ヲ實行スベキヲ彼ニ告ゲ且ツ附言シテ左ノ三要點ヲ提議セリ」

（第一）外國使臣ノ江戸在住ヲ許可スル事

（第二）政府ノ干渉ナク、日本人トノ自由貿易ヲ許可スル事

（第三）更ニ貿易港ヲ開ク事

余又曰ク、米國ハ敢テ特權ヲ要求セズ、而シテ米國大統領ヲ満足セシムル條約ハ、直ニ歐洲列強ノ容ル、所トナルベシト、更ニ余ハ日本ニ阿片ヲ輸入スルノ危険ナルヲ説キ、喜ンテ之ヲ禁遏スベキ旨ヲ語リ、最後ニ余ノ使命ハ、ニ友誼ヲ重ンズルガ爲ニシテ、大統領亦貿國ノ上ニ闘來スル危害ヲ報ジ、單ニ此危害ヲ除去スルノミナラズ、日本ヲシテ繁榮富強ノ國タラシメンガ爲メナリト結論セリ、此談論二時間以上ニ亘り、闇老ハ熱心ニ之ヲ傾聽シ、充分余ノ言ヲ解セザルヤ、時々質問ヲ發シタリ云々」

代の功勞を没すべきにあらざるを感じ、必ず其冤を解き、其勳を揚げ、千秋萬古、今の正陸を慕ふものをして、後の正陸を慕ふものに傳へしめんと欲す

日本外交の先覺 堀田閣老傳 終

信を行ひ、以て邦家百年の長計を立るに至ては、正弘固より正睦に及ばざる也。又、直弼の功に比し、先輩田邊蓮舟は謂て曰く、世の論者、或は井伊大老が違勅の責を負うて、條約調印を許可せしを以て、我國を以て、干戈を用ゐず、萬國交際の中に立たしめ、今日あるをいたさしめたるを其力に歸し、稱して開國の大功として、之を百世に俎豆すべきものゝ如く、いひもてはやすものあれども、それに先ちて堀田閣老あるを知らず、たゞ其事の行はれたると、行はるゝに及ばざりしとを以て、輕重を兩政事家の間におくは、恐らくその當を得ざるものなり云々。余も亦これと同説のみならず、寧ろ正睦の開國を首唱して、後の開國者に與へたる名譽の大を思ひ、且つ生涯の悲惨に加ふるに、晩年の冤罪を以て、益正睦一

顯理曰く、功名の爲に、富貴の爲に、身を顯榮に置くものは、一たび窮極の難地に立つや、意氣沮喪して疑惑妄動、處するに迷ひ、斷するに苦み、竟に衆愚一般の陋態に終る、蓋し凡人の常情也。唯非凡人は然らず、窮境に居て惑はず、難局に當て動せず、綽々餘地を存して、或は處し、或は斷ず、蓋し先見の明ありて而して自説の必ず達すべきを信すれば也。余常に我國開國の歴史を追憶する毎に、井伊掃部頭直弼、阿部伊勢守正弘の名のみ高く、堀田閣老の功績多く傳はらず、世間其人を稱揚するの少なきを憾み、頃日、餘暇を得て之を記傳し、其一世を通觀するに、人物の偉大にして識見の超絶なる、上下昏然として鎖港攘夷を論ずるの時、獨り俗流を排して開國を唱ひ、上は朝廷に請ひ、下は諸侯に諭し、斷々乎として所

からずとて左の譴責を蒙る、其文に曰く

堀田鴻之丞

其方父見山、勤役中、外夷取扱之儀に付ては、品々叡慮之趣も
被爲在候處、重大之事件輕易に心得、不行届の取計に及候段、
追々達御聽、重き御役柄、不似合之儀共、不束之至りに付、急度
も可被仰付處、格別之思召を以て、見山儀蟄居被仰付候。

此間、井伊大老、櫻田の變に殞れてより、浪士の眼中幕府なく、攘
夷を措て公然討幕を論ずるに至り、天下紛々として歸する所
なからんとす。文久二年二月、生麥の變に因り、島津久光の江
戸に赴く途中、生麥に於て英人の道を横ぎるものあり、久光の
家臣怒て之を殺す。英艦鹿兒島に寇せる元治元年、見山病に罹
り、其三月二十一日、終に佐倉城に卒す、享年五十五。

一昨日勅答之趣得と奉拜見候處深被惱覩慮候段奉恐入候儀に御坐候然る所墨夷の儀は御掛合向も相詰候上の儀に付此上異變難計候處勅答の趣も有之上は此後何れにか御決答相成候迄は於關東寬猛兩様共勅策へ對し御取扱被成兼候間萬一差向事端差纏候儀も有之候節は其機に臨み片時も早く御決斷御取計有之儀も可然哉左候は、英夷等渡來之節も同様御心得可有之哉非常之儀は何時と申儀難相定候に付無餘儀御旨趣奉伺關東へ申遣度奉存候間早々御沙汰有之候様仕度候事、

此程私儀歸府仕候様被仰出候處委曲口上にて申上候通先當表に罷在就ては御用辨の爲岩瀬肥後守儀江戸表へ早々出立爲仕度候儀に御坐候。

町三條中納言實愛傳奏廣橋前大納言光成等列坐の席に伺候し、忠能を経て左の勅答を渡されたり。

墨夷の事、神州の大患、國家の安危に係り、誠に不容易、奉始神宮御代々へ被對恐多被思召候東照宮以來之良法を變革之儀は、闔國人心之歸向にも拘り、永世安全難計、深被惱覩慮候、往年下田開港之條約不容易其上今度假條約之趣にては、御國威難相立被思召候、且諸臣群議にも、今度の條々、殊に御國體に拘り後患難測之由言上候、猶三家竝諸大名へも臺命を下し、再應衆議の上可有言上旨被仰出候事。

正睦以爲らく、此の如くんば禍難立ろに至らん、邦家の前途計るべからずと、深くこれを憂ひ、徐ろに朝議を調停して條約調印の歩を進めんと謀り、同廿三日、謹て旨を請うて曰く、

然として色を失ひ、再び之を主公に述べ、勢ひ大事に至るべきを告ぐ。尙忠已むを得ず、改むべきを約してこれを解散せしむ。

第十一章

京都の局面一變す——堀田侯頽勢を挽回せんとす
勅答將軍の實權を奪ふ——堀田侯尙ほ屈せずして

新策を案す——勅答の鎮國政策を取るに
在るや愈、明白——堀田侯終に京都を去る

嗟吁、一夜風雨驟來して、京師の局面は倏忽豹變し、同十七日、傳奏東坊城中納言聰長職を辭し、萬里小路大納言正房議奏を以て之を兼ね、關東勅答の草案は三條實萬に依て草せられ、同二十日、小御所に於て、正睦は九條關白尙忠、近衛左大臣忠、鷹司右大臣輔、三條前内大臣實美、次の間に議奏久我大納言建通、萬里小路大納言正房、裏松參議恭光、加賀中山大納言忠能、正親

然たり、關白九條尙忠亦固く取て動かず。於是、諸公卿益憤り、同十六日、八十八人の堂上等、袂を聯ねて禁中に集り、忿々として傳奏を罵詈し、中には國賊打殺すべしと狂號するものあり。三條内府之を聞き、傳奏をして退出せしめ、事僅に鎮靜したりしが、夜に入て更に靜穩を破り、關白邸を訪うて廷議を改むべしと迫り、若し聽かずむば堀田備中の本能寺旅館を襲ひ、正睦をして腹切らしむべしと聲言す。果せる哉、此等の諸公卿は、野武士然として番太刀を提げ、同夜初更關白邸に押寄せ、迫て曰く、關東勅答の案速かに改められよと。尙忠、家司に傳へて謂ふ、熟考の上返答に及ばん、今宵は先づ穩に引取らるべしと。衆、頑として聽かず、事態緩うすべきに非ず、今夜速かに改むる所なくんば、一同所存の旨ありと、客氣頗る軒昂せり。家司、悚

に候、且右の場合に至り候節は、何の地に奉安大樹公以下、條約致候輩も、亦何の地に遁れて安居候心得に候や、關東三家始、諸大名の見込詳かに被聞召候上、御返事御沙汰肝要に存上候、

右は毎々恐入候得共、不顧忌諱言上仕候事。

此の如き無智無識なる建議は、意氣揚々として殿上に蔓り、同十二日、堂上の公家達八十八人、同盟して關白に上書し、前日内決せし詔案の末文なる、御返答之儀被遊方無之此上は於關東御勘考候様御頼被仰進の一節を除き、再度三家及諸大名の意見を尋ねべしと論難し、且つ此儘にして荏苒せんか、勅答愈、行はれ、夷狄の爲に我神國を汚されんと、傳奏東坊城、廣橋等を脅かし、其參内の途中を待て斬殺すべしと言ふ。而も前議は依

一 墨夷一使者の應接すら、強情不容易由に付、尙苦心仕候仔細は、此上諸蠻追々來集し、表には互市の利潤を説き、實は火砲軍艦を以て恐嚇せしむるの夷情、元より日本を併呑し、國人を籠絡するの結構、追々彼が姦謀に陥り、夷賊所々に散在し、好言利欲を以て我國民を誘ひ懐け、彼が教法に従はしめ、能々人氣を察し、地理要害を知り、方々巢窟を設け置き、終には許し難き難題を設け、兵端を開き、皇國を押領するの時に至り、何を以て敵對すべきや、假令兵端を不開とも、右の通りにては不奪不饗の夷情、廣大の猛威を張り、隨意に皇國を劫制する時は、不戰して降參の場に可至、神國に生れて匹夫といふとも口惜き次第に無之や、況んや從來大祿を領する諸藩、人々至誠と赤心承り度事

伍をなし候ては、神國の御穢、御瑕瑾無此上、被對皇祖何共
恐惶歎息の至に候、近來連々の天災、偏に神慮を可被信義
と存候、

一 堂々たる皇國にして、蠻夷の猛威に驚愕し、彼の驕傲
無禮を捨置、申條に隨從し、禮待應接、奔走無暇、天下萬世に
恥辱を遺し、萬世一系の神國を漚落販賣業にひとしく心
得候、征夷府の處置、如何なる狂妄の徒の商量に候や、今度
覬慮伺の爲面々上京に付、御沙汰の趣にも不應は一切意
味難解、若し京都御同意の趣を以て、列國大小名以下萬民
を壓候積歎と被存候へども、眞實御同意不被爲在義は、何
國も可貫徹、却て關東の爲衆心を破り候基歎と不審に存
候、

亞米利加合衆國全權兼 ユンシユルゼネラル、ダウンセント、
ハルリスヘ、

日本國の老中、自分共今般大君の命を以て、井上信濃守、岩瀬
肥後守に任じ、亞米利加合衆國にては大統領の命に依て其
許を差越し、當午年正月五日双方談判之上、條約決定せりと
いへども、日本に於て安寧を存する重大の事柄あるに依て、
調判之儀は同七月廿七日迄延引せんことを我望に應じ其
許承引せり、併此事を變改又は其期限を延引せざること疑
ふべからず、且此後其他の外國人より條約等談判及候事有
之といへども、亞米利加合衆國の條約に調判するの後三十
日不經内は談判すること有るべからず、謹言。

調印は條約の如く七月廿七日に延期せられ、少しく急を緩
テ

進との事及言上候處人心居合之所は先以御安心被遊候へ
ども、神宮始御代々へ被爲對候ても何分恐多く、東照宮以來
之御制度を御變革被爲在候儀は天下の人望如何と思食、再
應被惱覩慮候間、何とも御返答之被遊方無之候、此上は於關
東御勘考候様御賴被仰進候事。

文中、疑議すべき所ありと雖も、末文に至り、關東の御勘考にあ
るべしと云ふに據り、正睦、先づ之に因て處決すべく、纔に一條
の血路を生命とせり。焉ぞ知らん、朝廷を擁する公卿及諸有
志は、條約勅許問題を以て、幕府の政權を弱むる好機會と爲し、
寧ろ正睦の在京を要して、政權回復の手段たる攘夷の聲は、異
口同音に傳唱せられ、爲に朝議の趨勢は、益反對の氣焰を熾に
し、昨日の定議忽然として動搖、憐れ正睦の苦心、今や散じて一

堂々たる一大開國論、雄大にして莊重、説き去り説き來て復遺憾なく、能く宇内の形勢より我國將來の施設に及び、帝國百年の國是全く此に盡くと謂ふべし。是より前後、正睦、頻りに關白及傳奏を説き、到底開國の規模を立つるに非ずむば、國家を富強にして列強と相駢ぶこと能はざるを論ず。因て關白も動き、傳奏も動き、左の勅答の草案は、傳奏より公卿及正睦に示され、將に關東の奏議に一任せられんとす。

今度の一條不容易、奉始神宮、御代々へ被爲對候ても可有如何哉、深く被惱、覩慮候、至此期候ては人心之居合國家之重事に候間、三家以下諸大名之赤心被聞召度思召候、今一應被下臺命、右所存被爲書取入覩覽候様御沙汰之趣及言上候處、覩慮之趣御尤之御事に被思召候へども、關東にて御引請可被

がれ、我國の政教を奉じ、我國の裁判を受くるに至るを以て
始めて日本國、天地に被爲對、報恩謝德の御極功と爲すべく、
忝なくも神州は天地剖判以來、國祖天神の皇統綿々として、
古往今來に亘り、君臣の名分正しく、國家の綱常明かにして、
其時々九鼎風教を易へる、國と日を同うして論すべきにあ
らざれば、天孫降誕以來、萬代御一姓なるを以て、世界萬邦第
一の舊域とすべく、疆域廣大ならざれども、土壤豐饒人口他
國に倍し、然も義勇忠烈の性を備ふるは、天心の眷顧格別の
處ありて、上帝の祐護無之筈は萬々無きの理なれば、即今乾
坤一變の機會三百年の舊法を變じ、全國一同の力を併せ、前
文の偉業寸時も早く成就仕度、何卒外國交際之儀速かに勅
許相成候様奉懇願候。

を結び、萬國一様に交際をなし、彼より官吏を置けば、是よりも官吏を遣はし、彼方よりミニストルを差越せば、此方よりも同じく遣り、彼より軍艦を向けて商船を守衛すれば、此方よりも同じく軍艦を遣はし、都て彼と對峙互角の勢を張り、彼の風土虚實を審かにし、今日彼を扱ふは他日宇内を統一する張本基礎と相成る手組と爲すべき積を以て、廣く萬國に航し、貿易を通じ、彼の長所を探り、此の不足を補ひ、國力を養ひ、武備を壯にし、漸、全地球中、御威徳に服従する御國勢になりて、世界の害を成す暴國は、同盟信義の國を率ゐ、征伐を加へ、善良孤弱の國を扶育させられ、實に天心に代りて天討を行はれ、世界萬國至治の御恩澤を蒙り、彼是相犯すこと無く、兄弟臣子の情を結び、終に世界萬國の大盟主、大皇帝と仰

も無之、元來遺恨も無き同天地間の國々にて、扱ひ方によりては、皆我が爪牙羽翼とも可被致、人民を謂れなく仇敵となすは、天理人情に於ても相通せず、時勢の推し遷るをも辨へず、徒らに國を誤る次第に陥り、たゞに手の縮み志の屈するのみならず、一二國と敵對すると違ひ、全世界を敵にし、國中無算の生民を永く塗炭に苦しましむる許りにて、イツ五大洲に羽翼を伸ばし、宇内統一の期可有之、現今世界の結局、大圓は何れの國に歟、聖賢の君出で、德威兼備はり、萬國を撫育教化し、暴を伐ち亂を平らげ、一般其德化に歸してその政教を奉じ、氷海夜國の末迄、其澤を戴かざること無きに至り、全地球中至治統一の世となり、初めて天地の御心に相叶ひたるに可有之、夫迄は徳ひとしく、力敵すれば同盟となり、和親

別段以御使覩慮御伺に相成候所、別紙之通勅答被仰出候。秉
より戦爭之覩慮は不被爲在候趣には候得共、方今萬國之形
勢一變之折柄、御處置之次第に依候ては忽仇讐之姿に相成
御全國之大事に及び、國家之御爲不相成可奉安宸襟候期も
被爲在間敷候間、先般京都へ被仰立候御扱方無之と思召候
且今度衆議被聞召度との儀は、既に昨年來各存寄御尋之上
之儀に候得共、勅諭之趣も有之候間、猶篤と勘辨各存寄之趣
早々可被申立候事。

第十三章

江戸に於ける政治的紛争の真相——水戸派の意中
を説明せる橋本左内の意見書——紀州派の成功 /

井伊掃部頭水戸派に反対の理由
——外交舞臺井伊大老の手に歸す

當時の形勢を詳にし、正陸の位置を説かんとせば、儲君議に就

互に雄長たらんことを志さるはなし、獨り清國は自ら尊大にして、屢敗衄を取り、朝鮮、琉球は軟弱に安んじ、他の鼻息を仰ぎ、呂宋、暹羅もこれに續ぎ、國勢振はざれども、其餘の強國は互に和親同盟を結び、貿易を開き、有無を通じ、患難相救ふ條約を爲し、若其約を背き、或は是を拒む時は、同盟相連りて、之を伐ち、戰止めば必ず和親同盟す、昔時の如く、其一國にて、或は亂れ、或は治まり、其國內限りにて戰爭を起し、會盟を結び、他國あるを知らざる時勢とは大に相違す、當今世界を押しならし治亂を論ぜざれば、治亂の見渡し付き難く、譬へば古ヘ其域内限、治亂離合の出る如く、世界の上にて、國々戰伐を起し、會盟を結び、各國勢を張る事故、何れにも全世界を統一する程の人出る後ならでは、當今の和親會盟と戰爭と

稟し、川路左衛門尉聖謨、岩瀬肥後守忠震を隨へ、安政五年正月二十一日江戸出發、二月五日京師に着し、本能寺を旅館とし、九條關白尙忠ヒサタケに見え、使命を陳べ、兩傳奏を旅館に迎へ、事情を詳説し、米使對話書八冊、條約草稿演説書二冊を傳奏もて尙忠に送り、内覽を請うて推問に供へ、且つ意見書一通を作て奏聞を請ふ、其文に曰く、

當今萬國の形勢一變し、漢土春秋列國の時、本邦足利氏の末年に似て大なるものなり、各其土に割據し、或は他國を蠶食して、帝と稱し、王と唱へ、歐羅巴諸州は、教主降生の翌年を以て元年とし、亞墨利加も是に倣ひ、之に加ふるに己が開國幾年と唱へ、露西亞は己が開國を主とし、元を紀す、亞細亞諸州は各其正朔を奉じ、其制度を異にし、何れも統一する所なく、

理を解し、聊か正睦の意を諒とすと雖も、處士の横議、諸藩の入説は早く朝廷に行はれ、頗る活氣を帶びて幕使を斥け、條約は日本の安危に繋る大事也、幕府これを顧みず、林、津田の如き小吏を遣はし、以て勅許を請はしめたるは、抑も朝廷を輕視するの所爲なりと、諭告の使は却て買怒の媒と爲り、京中一點の導火は將に満天を焦すの猛火たらんとす。

第十章

堀田侯の入洛 | 宇内の大勢を奏聞す | 堀田侯遂に功を奏せず | 新政策に對する新反対起る | 反対運動者名の意見書 | 撫夷は政權回復の手段なり | 公卿八十八名關白邸を訪うて勅答を改めん事を迫る | 關白之に

す屈

危機切迫、一方に此難事あり、一方に條約調印の催促あり。正睦、意を決して上京し、自ら奏聞する所あらんと、これを將軍に

之候得共、御國は疲弊可仕、且清國にても一端戰爭開候より、
今以外寇内亂にて平治不仕候次第に付、外國の御仕置は寛
永以前へ御立戻り御坐候方當節の時勢に相叶可申、既に寛
永以前外國商船往來は勿論、江戸表に夷人被差置候儀有之
候事、右の外蝦夷地の事、魯西亞人の事、萬國の形勢同盟の事、
諸蕃航海盛に仕り候件々申上候、右に付御不審被思召候條
々は御尋次第猶又可申上候。

是れ正睦の意中を布衍せるものにして、外國交通のことは決
して今日に始まれるに非ず、即ち寛永以前、英國にも交易し、葡
萄牙、和蘭、暹羅、其他諸國とも通信したり、而も之を一々朝廷に
請ひ、勅許を受けて後ち、始めて通信貿易したるに非ずといふ
に在り。傳奏廣橋前大納言光成、東坊城大納言聰長は稍々事

事茲に出でず、容易に勅許を得へしと信じ、非條約者を慰撫せんが爲め、終に勅許請願の儀に決し、其實、公卿の背後に在る野心家の陷阱に落ち、外交掣肘の端を啓きしは蓋し幕府の一大失策也。或は云ふ、阿部伊勢守内閣當時、伊勢守と三條中納言實萬との間、爾後外國に涉るの事は總て奏請すべしとの前約あるに因る。正睦、之を履めるもの乎、儒員林大學頭を正使とし、目付津田半三郎を副使として京師に至らしめ、最も時勢に迂き公卿説破の任に赴かしむ。乃ち兩使の京師に着し、所司代を以て傳奏に送りたる公狀は左の如し。

方今海外の時勢改候に至ては、寛永以來の御舊制に候得共、鎖國の法は御改有之、萬國へ程能御附合無之候はでは相成間敷、亞國其外にても一國との戦争に候得ば、御勝利も可有

又予に大阪城と歳に二萬兩を賜はり、更に大艦大砲を造る料として百萬兩を賜はらば、之を造て外國に抵り、幕府二百餘年の洪恩に報すべしと。狂せるか、慢せるか、所謂水戸流の激語を放ち、空しく臺閣を驚かさんとするものゝ如し。正睦、其言動の老宿に似ざるを悲み、竊に松平慶永に示して之を返送す。而も俗論放議は衆愚に宣しく、異説到る所に歓迎せられ、幕府を難ずるもの日に多く、遂に水戸家等の煽動に因り、幕府の顛覆に依て利を得べき諸侯公卿、及久しく口を緘せられたる天下の壯士之に和し、靡然として攘夷黨の大傘中に入り、條約の事は必ず、勅許を得べしと附和雷同せり。此時、幕府は昔家康が禁裡法式に、政道は奏聞に不及と定めたる故實に據り、斷じて決行する所あらば、却て天下の狂騒を鎮壓すべきに、惜矣哉、

松平越前守慶永、島津薩摩守齊彬等の數家あるのみ。慶永の言に曰く、方今の形勢、國を鎖して外交せざるは陋也、寧ろ我より進で航海し、普く諸國と貿易を開かんこを望む。故に理を以て來り請はゞ、我何爲ぞ之を拒まん、唯朝廷に請ひ、以て免許を受くるを善しとすと。齊彬は曰く、戰うて克つも其費勝て數ふべからず、矧んや彼より來り請ふ、宜しく許すべきは許して遲疑する勿れ。公使の如きも、彼にして我に置かば、我亦之を彼に置き、互に胸宇を開豁して當世の實務に處すべしと。

反之、反對論中、水戸老公の大意に曰く、蠻館を江戸に造る、甚だ宜しからず、我は墨夷一介の使も猶且つ病む、况んや英佛露夷これに倣ひ、續々江戸に來て幾多蠻館を建つるをや。若し予にして外國に使せんか、大に其不可を説て之を撤拒すべし。

在候上は、古來の御制度にのみ被爲泥候ては、御國勢御挽回の期も無之、日夜御心を被爲惱候御儀に有之、乍併非常の功は非常の時に無之候ては難相成、中興の御大業被爲立、御國威御振張の機會も此時に有之候間、御大變革被爲在度思召候へども、當時御國內人心の居合方も有之、人心不居合の節は内外何様の禍端を引出し可申も難計候間、先使節申立之趣に付、可成丈取縮候積り、精々被爲及應接候得共、今般御處置之當否は、國家治亂之境に候間、右再應申立之趣に付、猶心附候儀も候はゞ、早速可申上候旨被仰出候。

果然、諸侯伯は建言せり、然れども多くは只夷狄呼はりの謗議にして、夷狄何が爲に懼るべき乎、何が爲に擊つべき乎、全體要領を得るもの殆ど稀也。終に之を是とするものは前の如く

争議を請ふ一 勅許を請ふ一 幕使全失敗す一
幕使は京都江戸間の關係と一變す

議決する所此の如きも、外國と條約を結ぶは一國の大事にして、衆心一致せざれば永久の不利也と、之を三藩二卿、及海内の諸侯伯、府中の諸吏、大小監察三奉行、海防係、長崎、浦賀、下田、箱館の諸奉行、京都所司代、大阪城代、駿府町奉行等に至るまで、盡く米使陳述の利害及盟約の草案を示し、逐條意見あるや否や、心附もあらば申出あらん事を望むと、文を移して控問して曰く、
　亞米利加使節へ被及應接候趣、且又右に付、使節差出候書付和解、不容易事どもに付、厚く御勘考被爲在候處、近來世界の形勢一變いたし、唐土の昔戰國の世、七雄四方に立別れ居候姿にて、御當國に於ても、已に外國と條約御取結御交通被爲

を稿定して正睦に示す。正睦、乃ち井上信濃守、岩瀬肥後守を
結約委員とし、これに委任の證を下し、以て米國使臣と通商貿
易の章程を商議せしむ。即ち同四日、始めて彼我全權相會し、
同廿五日まで九回の會議を經て、條約約款十四條を議定し、箱
館は舊の如く、下田を改めて神奈川とし、外に三港を増して五
港とす、即ち長崎、新潟、兵庫を以て貿易場と定む。而して神奈
川長崎は今より十五箇月、新潟は二十箇月の後に開くとし、
又江戸、大阪も貿易を許し、江戸は四十四箇月、大阪は五十六箇
月の後に開くと定む、然れども此二所は貿易のみにして常に
は在留を許さず

第九章

新條約に對する諸侯の意見 | 激烈なる反対説 | 水戸
老公の攘夷論 | �攘夷論天下を風靡す | 幕使京都に赴

第八章

將軍通商貿易規程を認許す一重ねてハ
ハルリスを招ぐ一條約十四箇條の締結

於是、正睦、貿易通商の規程を定めんとするに臨み、ハルリスとの應接書を具し、將軍に稟請して其許を受け、十二月二日、再びハルリスを自邸に招き、謝して曰く、其後、某等同僚と議し、將軍に謁して貴國大統領の善意を告げしに、將軍大に喜び、許すに通商貿易の事を以てす、但我國も亦法制あり、細目に至ては當任の吏員をして商議せしむべし。駐紮公使の事、是亦異議なし、其置くべき居邸及日限は、吏員商議の上決定すべし。又不便なる下田港を閉ぢ、外港を開きて之に代ふべしとの議、是亦了承せり。因て不日結約委員を選び、相互熟議する所あるべしと。ハルリス其快諾を喜ぶ、是より先米使、條約草案十六條

若し聽かずんば戰を以て決すべしと云へり。佛亦同じく來らんこと、最近の報に見へたり。然れども二者共に來らざるは、清國の事未だ終らざるに因れる乎。閣下、請ふ疑ふ莫れ、某の眼中、只一視同仁の世界主義あるのみ。閣下、賢明にして能く内外の形勢を悉し、貴國大君殿下の爲に、策を決して條約訂盟の事あらんには、千古萬古、貴國と米國と永く世界の上に友邦たらんと。開説二時間餘、雄辯滔々、宇内の大勢より鎖國の不可を論じ、而も至情滾々として我國の爲に説き、疑もなく徹頭徹尾公義人道を標榜するの言也。之を聽ける我滿坐の諸有司は皆感奮せり、正睦は我持説と大に符合せるを喜び、再會を約して主客相別る。

すると、其利其害孰與ぞや。今我使船は兵器を載せず、軍備を整へず、只管禮儀を盡して平和の握手を望めり。貴國此時に結ぶ、武を汚すの害なく、譽を落すの毀なし。加之、今使節一人と結ぶと、他日數十隻の軍艦を前にして結ぶと、孰れか榮孰れか辱、孰れか利孰れか害、閣下の明に待て後之を知らざるなり。且つ我望む所は、之を一時に請ふに非ず、漸を以て定むる所を施行せんと欲するのみ。閣下、此意を諒し、今我と爰に結ばゞ、英佛二國の如きも之に倣ひ、敢て望外の望を致さざるべし。

縱ひ之を致すも我國力を竭して和を謀り、誓て貴國の安全を保證せん。某此行、支那香港を過ぎ、英の水師提督ホルーリングに遇ひ、某齎らす所の使事を告ぐるや、彼は曰く、我亦不日其土に到らば、軍艦數十隻を率ゐ、直に江戸海に入て條約を求め、

取られて猶ほ覺らず、近日再び葛藤を生じ、爲に北京は英佛聯合軍を迎ひ、餘儀なく城下の盟に屈辱せんとす。曩に二國使
我國に來り、俱に擊つべきを請ふと雖も、漫に弱國に向て于戈
を動すは、義にあらずとして之を謝絶したり。是に因て見る
も、我米國の他邦に對する態度如何を察すべし。貴國幸に此
等内外の事情に鑒み、早く諸同盟の列に入り、強て清國の無謀
に倣ふ勿れ。惟ふに貴國天福多く、能く三百年の太平を致す
と雖も、治平の久しき上下倦怠、竟に内憂外患を忘るゝ時は國
漸く傾く。又貴國、古來勇武を稱す、然れども勇有て術なきは
敗る、況んや今の兵器は劔戟にあらずして巨砲小銃、瓦石城壘
にあらずして火輪戰舶也。凡そ戰は戰を以て終らず、結局必
ず和に歸すべし、故に戰て後ち和すると、戰はず禮節を以て和

今也、貴國に向て條約を望む、獨り我國の請のみならず、歐羅巴諸國は勿論、特に英國の如きは、戰を忍ぶも猶且つ貴國と結ぶの要あり。何となれば英の屬地東印度は、土地富實なりと雖も、後に露西亞の窺ふあり、是を以て近年英佛同盟し、二者協力して露國と戰ひ、其銳鋒を摧き其蠶食を妨ぐ、是れ露がサガレン、アミルを略取し、それより進て滿洲を侵し、更に長驅して東印度に及ばんとするを知れば也。勢ひ既に此の如し、英の之を防ぐ容易の業に非ず、已むなく貴國の蝦夷函館を得、横に露の背を衝て其侵略を遏めんとする、英に取り洵に必至の勢也。更に清國を顧みれば、是亦貴國と同じく同盟を喜ばず、爲に今を去ること十八年前、端なく英國と釁隙を啓き、百萬の兵を損して南京危く、遂に和議して五百餘萬圓を償とし、外に要港を

むるが如き海賊的卑行は、我國禁にして、建國以來、今に至るまで曾て此暴舉ある事無し。但來て條約を請ふものは、互に世界の有無を通じ、共に天與の賜惠に浴せんとするのみ。閣下、試に當今の形勢を觀よ、爰五十年來、歐米の風紀頓に一變し、船は蒸氣力にて運轉せられ、語は電氣に由て通信せられ、千里も合璧の如く、萬國も一家の如く、遂に世界を通じて一家一族たらん趣あるは、皆此文明の機關を善用するに是因る。而して其之を爲す、彼我交際して同盟を結び、與に俱に通信貿易するに在り。其盟を結ぶ、只二條の約にして足れり。曰く、一は國命を帶びたる使臣と同じき權勢あるミニストル一名を其都府に居住せしむること、二は兩國の人民に許して自由に貿易せしむること是也。

禮を厚うして、之を正廳に迎ふ。一目拜禮、主客席定まるや、ハ
ルリス曰く、今某の言ふ所、決して私事に非ず、即ち我米國大統
領が貴國百年の長計を慮り、貴國大君殿下の爲に敢て微衷を
披くもの也、幸に此意を諒し、逐次傾聽されんことを望む。抑
も今言ふ所は、去廿一日、貴國大君に上りし書中の意を茲に詳
説するもの也。閣下、貴國の外國と約を結ぶ、恐らく我米國を
以て始とす、是れ我米國が貴國を視て、好誼ある友邦とし親朋
とする所以なり。然るに事情を知らざるもの、或は疑ひ、或は
嫉み、我を以て窺窬の志ありと爲す、何ぞ誣ゆるの甚だしきや。
苟も人の國を狙ふものは、其隣國に多少の根據地を要す。見よ、
我は東洋に一所管地なし、是に由て之を觀るも、猶ほ地を拓き
國を取るの意ありと謂ふ耶。元來人の地を奪ひ、人の財を掠

ケンを従へて下田を發し、道中六日を經、十四日江戸に着し、雉子橋外なる蕃書調所を以て旅館とす。翌十五日、大目付土岐丹波守を使として物を賜ふ。十八日、使者、國書の副一通を出し、之を正睦に呈す。此書は米國大統領の委任狀にして、其意は通商條約を結ばんとの綱要を敷陳せり。廿一日、ハルリス始めて登營し、將軍に謁して國書を捧呈す、謁終りて饗宴を賜ひ、待遇極めて厚し。

第七章

堀田侯ハルリスと會議す——ハルリス鎖國の不可を説く——ハルリス所論の梗概——鎖國の危險を指摘す——平和手段に依れる條約の締結

越て廿六日、ハルリス、正睦の邸に至り、會談する所あらんとす。正睦、海防掛の大小目付、勘定奉行、下田奉行及び譯官等を従へ、

んや之を標準とし、横議放論するものに至ては、其無識無定見
知るべき耳。正睦、此等の愚論に耳を借さず、毅然として衆議
を排し、將軍に稟請して、ハルリスの國書奉呈、江戸參上、登城拜
禮の許を受け、八月二十八日、ハルリスを江戸に公見すべき由
を布告す。

豆州下田表滯留之亞米利加官吏、國書持參江戸參上之儀相
願候處、右は寛永以前、英吉利人等も度々御目見被仰付候御
先踵も有之、且條約爲取替相濟候國の使節は、都府へ罷越候
儀萬國普通之常例之趣に付、近々當地へ召呼ばれ、登城拜禮
可被仰付との御沙汰に候、此段爲心得向々へ可相達候。

十六閱月の長日月を都外に送りし米使ハルリスは、漸く此の
如くにして延見せらるゝに至り、其歲十月七日、通辯官ニウス

と相認有之哉、一旦御直に、差上、翻譯被仰付候上、如何敷事共
有之御差戻に相成候ては、夷狄にて承知仕間敷、實に神祖以
來之御威徳に相拘り、不容易儀申上候迄も無之、厚く御評議
之上とは被存候へども、何分天下後世へ被爲對、徳川家之御
恥辱に不相成様、御所置有之候様被致度、第一夷狄御側近く
被爲召寄候儀、御危被存候、御内意不奉伺候ては三家の立場
所恐入候故、御用不相成迄も此段申上候。

噫、固陋か、頑冥か、水戸の識量は推し知られたり。若し東湖あ
らば（藤田誠之進と稱す、學識膽略あり、水戸侯の股肱にして當
世の名士也、安政二年、江戸の地震に斃る）此等陋劣の議もなか
らんに、惜哉東湖死後、之を以て攘夷を煽動し、否、寧ろ攘夷黨の
神輿然たる觀ありて、譏者之を嘲笑を招げるぞ是非もなき。矧

家の安危に處せんとす。列藩諸侯も亦宇内の大勢に迂く、松平越前守、島津薩摩守、伊達遠江守等の數人を除くの外一人の開國を贊するものなく、皆鎖國に左袒して其虚勢を大にするのみ。特に水戸侯(前中納言齊昭)の如きは、家臣其人に乏しからず、胸中亦經世の識ありて、而も幕府顧問の地位に在り、果して此間の消息を解せざる乎、或は解せざるを裝ふ乎、家老をして左の一書を齎らさしめて曰く、

亞米利加官吏登城御差許、御目見被仰付候旨、一昨夕御渡之御内意御書翰之趣、水戸殿前中納言殿被致承知、彼より強て申立候儀に付、無餘儀登城御目見をも被仰付候儀、事情不得止御事とは相見候へども、左候ては此上益相募、如何様之儀申立候哉も難計、且夷狄より書翰相呈候事、右文中如何成儀

儀此上最早取計方も有之間敷候間重大之事件承候との應接、一先その儘に差置、書簡差上方之儀、彼より申出候次第、箇條之振合に大意は据置、出府登城御目見之節、老中受取候積、猶精々遂談判登城御目見且旅行滯在中之手續等、可成丈手重に不相成御不都合之儀無之様、誠實に談判致し、委細取調可被相伺候、官吏參上頃合之儀は、當九月下旬、出府爲致候積に相心得、其段官吏へ可被申聞候。

此達延て内外に傳はるや、風説は風説を生み、幕府非難の聲益、高く、天下の攘夷黨雜然として雷同し、攘夷を以て獨り國に忠なるかの如く、相率ゐて謠て曰く、勝つか負るか一戦争を試み、而して後ち國を開かば、永く醉生夢死せる國民を醒し、日本の士氣は是に因て奮興するを得んと、幾ど投機的奇道を以て國

第六章

反對論者少しく悟る——將軍米國使臣延見に決す——有力なる反對説の再現——水戸老公反對の中心と爲る——有

同老公の攘夷建白書——
ハルリス愈延見せらる

俗吏時務を識らずと雖も、循々説き来る如上の開國論に、有司多少の微明を認め、漸く鎖國の非を悟り、本問題は歩一步を進め、愈々米國使臣延見の議に及べる時、正陸の幕僚たる海防係の中にも、勘定奉行勝手係水野筑後守の如きは、ハルリス出府、登城拜謁、閣老談判、貿易條約の四大要件を以て、絶對的否認説を唱へ、内外異論の合同を助勢せり。然れども正陸斷じて顧みず、七月二十四日、更に諸奉行等に諭達して曰く、

亞米利加官吏へ應接之儀に付去る二十一日、相達候趣も有之、書簡差上方、重大之事件承候儀とも、斯迄詰論に及候上之

然るをひたすら大事を取り、空しく時日を費し、病毒彌せまり、形體憔悴し心氣虛耗せば、藥力用ゐる所なきに至るべし、不如早く病根を察し、方を變じ良劑を用ゐ、或は藥湯に浴し、幸に病根を剪除せば、唯形體舊に復するのみならず、氣力以前に倍し、延命長壽の人となるも計るべからず、是則ち禍を轉じて福となす、英雄の所置にも可有之哉と存候、然れども自分醫案に拙く、粗病根を察しながら治療の術を知らざるは實に可歎の至に候、素より事の成否は天運に依ることにて中々淺智の及ぶ所に無之候間、各の力を假り、衆力一致して萬一事成就せば、天下後世の御爲に候條、心付候段は、相互に無遠慮實意に忠告致し度候事。

て如何なる大家高屋も年月の久敷を經、棟梁損折、柱石朽敗せば必ず大修覆なして棟梁をも改むべし、昔より大改革を仕途候は創業の力ある君主の心より出るとの事なれども、家屋破壊するの上、地震風災目前にあらば、良工無しとて捨置べきにあらず、假令拙工のみにても衆力を合せ一同粉骨して修覆なさば、必ず成功の期無しとも難申候、藥法も亦然り、病の輕重に依り所置同じからず、通常當分の病に奇方を求むるは、病を弄する筋にも當るべき故、是まで用ゐ来る所の醫藥を進め候方可然やに候へども、變症重病に至れば用ゐ来るとして功驗なき藥を進め、君父の危急を忽にするの理なし、衆醫に問ひ熟思して其宜に隨ふべし、當時の形勢殆ど危急の場合にて、痼疾肺臍に入、薄剤補藥の治すべきに非ず。

元御制度は國を治むるの道具なれば、國を治むる爲に御制度を變通致し候は無據事と存候、併し鎖國の御法を改め諸蠻へ親み候へは、自ら其風に染み候様成行、第一邪教傳染の患不容易との論は尤も至極にて、自然の勢ひ夫等の流弊も可生なれども、其心得を以て法律を定め候は、又可防手段も可有之候、窃に按するに、當時西洋諸洲之遵奉する教は、國に依り種類一様ならざる由なれども、我に言ふ所の切支丹なるものとは、自ら違ひ候歟に有之候、右異教に就ては少々愚存も有之候へども、紙上には難申述候、制度は家作の如しとの義、無事の時、物好にて造作を改むる迄の事なれば議論の通なれども、近年の如き地震風災屢有之節は、又時に應じ豫め其災を防ぐの工夫無きも無智の至りなるべし、まし

本と致し、行々御國力を伸張する工風有之度義と存候、尤も
墨夷渡來無之候はゞ、諸蠻と交易可然と申ものは有之間敷
との義なれども、鎖國孤立の御制度にては民心益固陋柔弱
に陥り國脈疲耗し、外夷之攻撃を不待、自ら亡滅を相招候間、
廣く強國に親み交易通商して國勢を振起すべしとの義は
前々論じ候者も有之候へども、時勢人情に不合、行れず候處、
當時人心憤發の機會に乘じ、右之策十分に行はれ候はゞ、轉
禱爲福之楷梯と可相成、勿論御代々様御立被置候御法を能
く守り、未長く太平萬民塗炭に不陷御所置有之候はゞ、此上
もなき事なれども、世運の循環に依り又時に應ずるもの變
革有之候事、則萬民塗炭に不陥様との御趣意に相叶可申歟、
既に大船製造は嚴敷御制禁なりしも、此度御免有之候如く、

相成候事故、利益の事に眼を着けず、是迄長崎に於て唐和蘭の振合にて不際立様御開き、下田、箱館兩港にては、其缺乏の品計り相渡し可申との論、一應尤には候へども、一旦御開き相成候上は、右様狹少の事にては唯名のみにて其實無く候間、又々苦情可申立は必然と被存候間、調の上何とか御所置附不申候ては相成間敷、尤も辯論之通、最初は全く一時之計策迄に御許容の事に付、基本の主意を忘れ、利のみに眼可着謂れ無之候へども、一体互市之義は、萬國普通之規則も可有之に付、損益とも我之自在にも相成間敷、且近來諸國とも交易の道盛に被行、追々異情も相分り候間、彼等懇願之有無に拘はらず、勢御開不相成候ては不叶時節故、唯今にては最初無餘義御開之廉は打捨、永世之御制度に相定、富國強兵の基

惱々たる已上の諭示も、猶ほ衆愚を悟し難く、却て小人の誹議に加ふるに、有司の頑冥を以てして未だ容易に信ぜられず。正睦其愚を歎息し、四年四月、更に自筆の書を以て、有司等の抗議に答へ、懇に諭せる文に曰く、

過日被申聞候書面之趣、熟覽致し候、議論之通、貿易御開きの義は、國家盛衰の關する所にて不容易大業に付、事々勘辨之上、輕忽の所業無之様との段、練達之思慮事を執候ものは其心得有之度事に候、乍然自分見込とは少々相違之廉も有之候間、所存之趣、無腹藏可申入候、各も承知之通短才不明にしてかかる大任に可堪には非ざれども、方今之形勢、一身之安危を計るの時に無之候間、身之不肖を不顧、愚意申述候、貿易之義は、基本墨夷内海へ乘入候一條より、無餘義御開き

御扱方も御改革無之而は相成間敷然るを兎角仕來に拘泥いたし、瑣末之儀迄六ヶ敷差拒、追年外夷怒を釀し候は無算之至に候、萬一砲聲一響き致候はゞ、最早御取戻しも難相成候間、外國人御取扱緩優にて且長崎下田箱館之三港は、諸事同様之取計振に相成、文書之往復應接之禮節等都て外國人共信服いたし候様、眞實之御所置に無之ては難相叶時勢に有之、既に英吉利評判記、亞米利加官吏の申立、猶又今般蘭人之申立等、一々差迫り居、此上是迄之御仕法にては永く可差支様無之は顯然之義に付、無事之内、是迄之御法早々御變革有之、其上之御取締相立候様取計方長策に可有之候間、右之心得を以て向來之御所置振等、篤と勘辨熟慮致し、早々取調可申聞候事。

して曰く、幕府の吏人等、和戰兩途に迷ひ、紛々決せざる所以のものは、本と廟議の一定せざるに因る、速かに幕府執る所の方針を定め、断じて是を發表するに若かざる也と、衆議一決、將軍に稟して後、評定所一座の奉行目付、海防掛、長崎奉行、下田奉行、箱館奉行に左の諭示を下せり。

英人廣東を燒拂候一條に付、和蘭カピタン話說之趣、再應勘辨致候所、蘭人の申立、今更の事には無之、追々差迫候義に相聞、右は彼國情願を可遂と、強て牽合附會致候義とも不相聞實に當時外國人御取扱振、事情に不應儀は我國人にも粗相分候義に付、漸々彼の怒を積候はゞ、廣東の覆轍を踏候儀も難計、尤警戒可致儀に有之、既に寛永已來之御祖法を御變通被遊和親御取結にも相成候上は、寛永以前の御振合も有之、

府に報じて外國事務宰相と談判せんことを要求す。是歳十月十七日、正睦、外國掛と爲り専ら外務の任に當る。茲に至り、家宰渡邊糺の先見的中し、多年研鑽したる外國の事は、今や實際に應用せらるゝ時に遭着せり。是より先き、幕府は長崎、下田、箱館の三港を開き、薪水食料の窮乏を告ぐる時、來り乞はば之を給することを約したるも、正睦、外交の局に當るに及び、大に舊例を改め姑息の開港策を排除せんと欲す。時に有司の其下に屬するもの、大目付に土岐丹波守、筒井肥前守、勘定奉行に川路左衛門尉、目付に岩瀬肥後守、鵜殿民部少輔、永井玄蕃頭等ありて、皆學識俊才あり。就中、川路岩瀬の如きは、頗る海外の事情に通じ、兼て時務に練達し、幕中機敏の聞えあり。正睦、之を用ひ、事の祕密に涉る、必ず二人の意見を問ふ。一日、議

以て長崎在留の和蘭船長に傳へんと。彼理此答を得、爭ふ能はずして歸ると雖も、幕府は是より外交紛亂の裡に投ぜられ、而も廟堂具眼の人なく、獨り焦慮するの際に正睦を得、正弘推舉して安政二年十月九日、將軍家定公に營中に延見せしめ、加判列として勝手掛を兼ねしめ、自ら次席に退き正睦を老中の首座たらしむ。憶ふに海外の事は、正弘遠く正睦に及ばざるを自覺し、こゝに譲て正睦の手腕に待てるものなる耶。

第五章

タウンセンド、ハルリス下田に來るに對する廟議の一決反對の議盛
專任と爲るに外交に關する堀田侯外交事務

なり一有司等
に對する懇論

明る三年七月、米國總領事タウンセンド、ハルリス、相州下田に渡來し、國書及改訂條約締結の全權委任狀を携帶し、其旨を幕

は無之人數出張に臨み、分合時之宜しきに隨ひ候趣意に候、猶良法も有之候は、改正増補可致候、仍ては弓術、舊傳之砲術、習熟之面々不本意には可存候得共、時勢に依て不得止相改候儀、國家之御爲に候條得と勘辨いたし、舊習に不致拘泥様可相心得候。

海外の空氣、斯く早くも此處に吹き渡るに、隣藩水戸の舊弊に泥むが如く、海内闕として閑眠を貪り、天下太平を謠ふ嘉永六年、米國水師提督彼理、兵船四隻を率ゐ、其六月三日、浪を蹴て我相州浦賀に來り、國書を奉じて通信貿易を求む。時に阿部伊勢守正弘老中の首座たり。七月、正弘、諸侯を集め、其國書を和解して答議を徵す。然るに三百諸侯の大概は、外交を滅亡と一樣に解して紛々擾々、漫に外國の事を以て夷狄禽獸の事と爲

せ、西洋文明の空氣が如何に佐倉藩中に流行せるかを見ん。

兵制之義は、時勢に依りて、沿革有之義、古今之通例に候、當今西洋にて發明之大砲小銃之術、日に相開け、其利用本邦舊傳之砲術と同日之論に無之、鎗刀短兵之業は、古今同様本邦之長技に候間、猶又可加研究候、弓矢之業は、古來武家之要務に候得共、中古砲術盛に行はれ候より以來、其用衰へ候は、誰人も存する所にて、自然之勢に候處、當今に至り西洋砲術尙又相開け候上は、弓矢も利器に候得ども、其利用小銃之業には、逆も比較いたし難く、依之古今兵制器械の長短、竝に西洋兵法等を彼此斟酌之上、此度兵制改革致し、弓組長柄組、舊傳砲術、悉皆相廢し、専ら西洋砲術を相用、騎隊を取り立、大砲小銃之二隊を併せて三隊に相定候、尤始より三隊組合せ置候儀に

術に名ある齋藤碩五郎に命じ、四郎大夫に就き之を學ばしむ。又、弘化二年、伊豆韭山の代官江川太郎左衛門が高島の兵法を傳へて教授するを聞き、碩五郎及高洲代藏、福田常治、田島武之助を江川の許に遣はし、入て其術を研究せしめ、後ち西洋砲術教場を佐倉城中に開き、藩士をして之を習得せしむ。又、家臣木村軍太郎なるもの、慧敏にして學を好み、夙に洋學に志あり、醫師杉田成卿に就き蘭書を讀む。成卿、兵書を好み、屢々砲術書を翻譯せり。軍太郎爰に得る所多く、學術大に進む。正睦、之に西洋兵法研究を命じ、只管兵書の研究に專從せしむ。此業皆空しからず、後ち火繩銃を廢して西洋銃法を用ひ、弓組長柄組を廢して西洋歩騎礮の兵式に改むる等、鎖國の天下、獨り佐倉城中に此開眼あり。試に正睦が其兵制改革の諭達文を載

し、人才を養ひ、大に民政を施き、兼て外國の事に及ぶ。是より先き、正睦、西洋測時器を見て、頗る其精巧に感じ、又渡邊亂が癌を患ひ、他醫更に效なきに、獨り蘭法醫の之を癒したるを聞き、醫員西淳甫、鏗木仙安の二人に命じ、蘭醫坪井信道に就て學ばしめ、天保十二年、仙安を長崎に遣はし、其業成て歸るや、同十三年十二月、醫學局を佐倉城外に置き、仙安を都講に補して専ら蘭書を講ぜしむ。是れ佐倉藩に洋書を讀むの始にして、復た西洋醫法を用ゆるの濫觴也。既にして又蘭醫佐藤泰然を聘して、侍醫と爲す。泰然の養子尙中は、後年日本醫學界の巨擘と稱せられ、明治中興の際大博士に陞る。

正睦醫學を創むると同時に、高島四郎大夫が長崎より江戸に召され、蘭人傳授の西洋銃陣法を傳ふるを聞き、家臣にして世砲

に今俄かに我より辭任するは、徒らに身を潔うするの名ありて、君上の爲に忠節の效なきを奈何。矧んや一儒生の脅嚇に天下の重職を去るが如き觀ある、時機進退兩つながら策の得たるものに非す。寧ろ日光社參に供奉し、家の面目たる大役を終へ、而して後ち病を以て辭任し、他日再び大任に當るの餘地を存するの優れるに若かずと。正睦、其説に従ひ、遂に社參後職を辭し、加判列を罷められ、溜間詰格となる、時に天保十四年閏九月八日也。

第三章

藩政の釐革に力む | 教育の獎勵 | 留學生を派遣す |

學者の招聘 | 蘭學及西洋戰術の研究 | 兵制の改正 |

新兵制採用に關する諭達
文 | 米國戰艦浦賀に來る

正睦年を越えて佐倉城に歸り、弘化元年五月命じて學校を興

て秕政たるを悲み、幕府威信の失墜を慨す。忠邦、之を含める
か、儒臣片桐要助なるもの、正睦の儒臣澁井達徳(平左衛門)を訪
ひ、告げて曰く、堀田公の明敏、我主君の常に歎稱する所、因て顯
職に推任し、相携へて新政を布かんと欲す。圖らざりき近日
同僚間、頻りに誹謗を發するものあり、若し公にして、之と唱和
せんが、恐らくは公の進退に關するものあらんと。達徳聽て
驚き、之を正睦に告ぐ。正睦曰く、我素より之を期す、今に及び
何ぞ躊躇せん、速に職を辭すべしと、意を佐倉城に在る藩宰渡
邊胤に致し、其所見を問ふ。胤下問を得て意見を書し、使臣荒
井安治に托し答へて曰く、謹て命を拜す、抑も本年四月は將軍
家に於て日光社參の儀あり、假設水越公、我君を厭ふことある
まゝ之を終るまでは、漫りに老職の進退を行ふべからず。然る

しきは途上之を剥取るに至る。此他、女髪結を禁じ、俳優の市民と雜居するを禁じ、江戸の寄席を十五席に限り、女子の淨瑠璃三絃を教ふるを禁じ、諸國の民江戸下りの俳優を傭ひ興行するを禁じ、人情本の賣買を禁じ、金銀を施したる看板を禁じ、又町人は男女共に絹紬、木綿麻布の外一切用ゆることながらしめ、羽二重、縮緬、繻子、唐物は帶とするも、襟とするも、袖口とするも、堅く之を禁じ、又農民の江戸に滯留するを禁じ、皆郷土に還らしめ、背くものは江戸を追放し、或は家財を沒收し、或は獄に下す等、その法禁の嚴なること、實に迅雷烈風の枯葉を驅るが如し。正睦、天保十二年三月、本丸老中と爲り、始めて幕政に參預し、其矯弊の議を賛襄せしも、忠邦、唯益々苛察にして底止する所を知らず、且つ下民の怨恨日に太しきを聞き、釐政の却

通ふ正睦の政績を聞き、八年五月、正睦を薦めて寺社奉行より
大阪城代に遷し、未だ任に赴くに及ばず、七月、老中加判列に補
し、世子の傳と爲す。其十一年十一月、將軍家齊の薨するや、忠
邦意を決し、其寵臣等を黜け、又其黨與を除き、遂に將軍家慶を
擁して舊政改革の端を發く。乃ち幕府の吏人を會し、將軍を
して、一切の政治、享保寛政の法度に倣ふべきを命ぜしめ、忠邦
其旨を敷衍して改革の已むべからざるを諭す。是より事每
に着手し、將軍をして訴訟を傍聽せしめ、茶坊子の貪濫無禮な
るを戒飭し、異風の頭巾に容を蔽ふを禁じ、富札を禁じ、農夫の
家作を美にするを禁じ、每村結髮店あるを禁じ、村落に江戸菓
子を賣るを禁じ、特に力を極めて町人の驕奢を禁じ、高價なる
菓子、美麗なる女服、能裝束を禁じ、若し背く者は直に處罰し、甚

方に財政の疲弊を矯め、一方に文武藝術の制、衣食住の制、音信贈答の制、婚姻葬祭の制等を定め、廉耻を知らしめ、節儉を主とし、藩内聳然として風紀頓に悛る。藩中偶、批難の聲あるも、正睦の英斷と氣の建策とは、君臣水魚の情を得て新政立ろに行はれ、竟に一人の之を云爲するもの莫し、時に正睦の年二十四なり。

第二章

幕閣大官としての初行程——急速の榮進——急激なる改革
水野越前守——堀田水野兩侯の關係——兩侯其議合

はす——堀田
侯の退職

天保五年八月八日、正睦、寺社奉行の命あり、相模守を改め備中守と稱す。こは同僚に土屋相模守あればなり。是歲、水野越前守忠邦、出で、幕府の老中と爲り、大に弊政を改革せんと欲す。

糸字は子脩、寧軒と號し、文學を好み、博く經史に涉り、且つ詩文を善くし、才識卓絶、藩中屈指の人物たり。糸以爲らく、君公年齒尙ほ弱し、須く文武を講習し、兼て君徳を涵養すべしと。儒士澁井甚之丞(後に平左衛門と改む)菱川泉藏を薦め、自らも入て輪番に經史を講じ、更に藩内の練士を擇で武藝を勧め、日夜薰陶、能く其君を賢にし能く其徳を懿にす。於是、臣は君に待ち、君は臣に任じ、君臣相倚り、着々革新の實を擧げ、先づ長臣庄田孫兵衛、入江彦左衛門、若林埜左衛門等の職を罷め、糸を以て専ら政柄を執らしめ、從來紊亂せる財政を整理せしむ。是れ衣食足りて禮節を知るといへる聖語に依れるものにして、先づ家士の困窮を救ひ、後ち身を脩め家を齊ひ、始めて文武の教育に及ばんとせるもの也。糸固より其意を體す、畫策縱横、一

日本外交堀田閣老傳

佐藤顯理著

第一章

佐倉藩主としての堀田侯一傳役渡邊亂一
藩政改革一力を外に伸ふるの準備成る、

堀田備中守正睦、初名は正篤、相模守正時の季子也。文化七年八月、江戸の邸に生れ、長じて兄相模守正愛の嗣子と爲り、文政八年三月家を襲ぎ、下總佐倉城十一萬石を領す、時に年十六。正睦、人と爲り忠厚溫和、喜怒色に形はれず、軀幹長大にして、風采雄偉、學を好み士を愛し、夙に經世濟國の志を養ふ。當時、藩政振はず、長臣徒らに權を弄す。乃ち渡邊亂を擧げて傳役とす、後之に藩政を委ね、以て諸々の宿弊を釐革せしむ。

也音しはへ風雅に十頃侯く書其日記に、
樂寧調音を明て短そ年堀田曰に、
と的ろに聲備の閑身三の田に、
也音しはへ風雅に十頃侯く書其日記に、
樂寧調音を明て短そ年堀田曰に、
と的ろに聲備の閑身三の田に、

派勝を制す——堀田侯一橋刑部卿を諸君に推さんとす——井伊大老の任命——將軍繼嗣問題決す——堀田侯尚ほ絶望せず——ハルリスと會す——條約調印の延期、ハルリスの論難——將軍諸侯を召す——勅答に關する諭告文出づ

第十三章

江戸に於ける政治的紛争の眞相——水戸派の意中を説明せる橋本左内の意見書——紀州派の成功——井伊攝部頭水戸派に反対の理由——外交舞臺井伊大老の手に歸す

第十四章

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惱々たる已上の諭示も、猶ほ衆愚を悟し難く、却て小へれず。
に加ふるに、有司の頑冥を以てして未だ容易に信ぜられぬ
正睦、其愚を歎息し、四年四月、更に自筆の書を以て、有司等の
議に答へ、懇に諭せる文に曰く、

過日被申聞候書面之趣、熟覽致し候、議論之通、貿易御開きの
義は、國家盛衰の關する所にて不容易大業に付、事々勘辨し
上、輕忽の所業無之様との段、練達之思慮、事を執候ものは甚
心得有之度事に候、乍然自分見込とは少々相違之廉も有士
候間、所存之趣、無腹藏可申入候、各も承知之通短才不明にて
かかる大任に可堪には非ざれども、方今之形勢、一身之安
危を計るの時に無之候間、身之不肖を不顧、愚意申述候、
貿易之義は、基本墨夷内海へ乘入候一條より、無餘義御開き

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ものは本と廢議の一一定せ
針を定め、斷じて是を發表
に稟して後、評定所一座の
箱館奉行に左の諭示を下
　　英人廣東を燒拂候一條
　　辨致候所、蘭人の申立、今
　　聞、右は彼國情願を可遂
　　實に當時外國人御取扱
　　分候義に付、漸々彼の怒
　　難計、尤警戒可致儀に有
　　被遊、和親御取結にも相

引

予先に島田沼南氏の『開國始末』を抄譯して、英文 *Agitated Japan* を公にするに際し、研究端なく堀田正睦侯の人物と其事蹟に及び、以爲らく、井伊大老の我が開國史上に於ける、固より幕末獨歩の巨入たるを失はずと雖も、而かも歐米の國情に通じ、時の外務大臣として親しく構組折衝の任に膺り、能く帝國の體面を辱しめざりしものは實に堀田侯其人なりと、予當時同侯の事蹟を敍して之を内外の君子に問はんとするの意あり、近時少間を偷んで其志を成したるもの即ち本書なり、本書は之を拙著 *Agitated Japan* の續篇といふも可、讀者幸に彼是參照せば、幕末動亂の眞相を知るに於て益あらんか。

本書は英和兩文より成る、然れども英文は必ずしも和文の翻譯にあら

以て長崎在留の和蘭船長に傳へんと。彼理、此答を得ざられ
はずして歸ると雖も、幕府は是より外交紛亂の裡に投ぜられ
而も廟堂具眼の人なく、獨り焦慮するの際に正陸を得、正弘推
舉して安政二年十月九日、將軍家定公に營中に延見せしめ、加
判列として勝手掛を兼ねしめ、自ら次席に退き正陸を老中の
首座たらしむ。憶ふに海外の事は、正弘遠く正陸に及ばざつ
を自覺し、こゝに譲て正陸の手腕に待てるものなる耶。

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なり——有司等
に對する懇諭

明る三年七月、米國總領事タウンセンド、ハーリス、相州下田に
渡來し、國書及改訂條約締結の全權委任狀を携帶し、其旨を
貢

方に財政の疲弊を矯め、一方に文武藝術の制、衣食住の制、音信贈答の制、婚姻葬祭の制等を定め、廉耻を知らしめ、節儉を主とし、藩内聳然として風紀頓に悛る。藩中偶、批難の聲あるも、正睦の英斷と乳の建議とは、君臣水魚の情を得て新政立ろに行はれ、竟に一人の之を云爲するもの莫し、時に正睦の年二十四なり。

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はず——堀田
侯の退職

天保五年八月八日、正睦、寺社奉行の命あり、相摸守を改め備中守と稱す。こは同僚に土屋相摸守あればなり。是歲、水野越前守忠邦、出で、幕府の老中と爲り、大に弊政を改革せんと欲す。

胤字は子脩、寧軒と號し、文學を好み、博く經史に涉り、且つ詩文を善くし、才識卓絶、藩中屈指の人物たり。胤以爲らく、君公年齒尙ほ弱し、須く文武を講習し、兼て君徳を涵養すべしと。儒士澁井甚之丞(後に平左衛門と改む)菱川泉藏を薦め、自らも入て輪番に經史を講じ、更に藩内の練士を擇て武藝を勧め、日夜薰陶、能く其君を賢にし能く其徳を懿にす。於是、臣は君に待ち、君は臣に任じ、君臣相倚り、着々革新の實を擧げ、先づ長臣庄田孫兵衛、入江彦左衛門、若林埜左衛門等の職を罷め、胤を以て専ら政柄を執らしめ、從來紊亂せる財政を整理せしむ。是れ衣食足りて禮節を知るといへる聖語に依れるものにして、先づ家士の困窮を救ひ、後ち身を脩め家を齊ひ、始めて文武の教育に及ばんとせるもの也。胤固より其意を體す、畫策縱横、一

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佐藤顯理著

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藩政改革——力を外に伸ふるの準備成る——

堀田備中守正睦、初名は正篤、相模守正時の季子也。文化七年八月、江戸の邸に生れ、長じて兄相模守正愛の嗣子と爲り、文政八年三月家を襲き、下總佐倉城十一萬石を領す、時に年十六。正睦、人と爲り忠厚溫和、喜怒色に形はれず、軀幹長大にして、風采雄偉、學を好み士を愛し、夙に經世濟國の志を養ふ。

當時、藩政振はず、長臣徒らに權を弄す。乃ち渡邊亂オサムを擧げて、傳役とす、後之に藩政を委ね、以て諸々の宿弊を釐革せしむ。

其日記に
書して曰
く堀田
侯は年の
頃凡そ三
十五短身
にし閑
雅聰明の
風、丰な備
へ、低調聲
して寧ろに
樂的也

派勝を制す——堀田侯一橋刑部卿を儲君に推さんとす——井伊大老の任命——將軍繼嗣問題決す——堀田侯尙ほ絶望せず——ハルリスと會す——條約調印の延期、ハルリスの論難——將軍諸侯を召す——勅答に關する諭告文出づ

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す、唯内外人士の爲めに、兩々研究に便ならしめん事を期したるのみ、和文堀田闇老傳は、友人長島萬里君の勞に待つ所甚だ多し、茲に其厚意を感謝す。

編史の業は固より容易ならず、況んや開國鎮港の論議囂々たりし幕末の國情を錄するをや、本書は毫も著者一家の私見を棹ます單に事實を事實として之を敍せるのみ若し夫れ書中記する所にして事實を枉ぐるものあらば、希くは大方の史家幸に指教に恵ならざらん事を。

明治四十一年七月
佐藤顯理識

引

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ノ 嫌アリ何トナレバ 幕末ニ在リテ 天下ノ
横議ヲ排シ先ヅ開國進取ノ大方針ヲ定メ
テ 米使はりすト會見シ 外交ノ初舞臺ニ立
テ 國命ヲ辱シメザリシモノハ 堀田閣老ナ
レバ也

近者佐藤顯理氏一日予ヲ訪ウテ 英文堀田
閣老傳起草中ナルヲ告ゲ更ニ越エテ三旬
同書既ニ脱稿シテ 削劂ニ附スル正ニ近キ
ニ在ルヲ聞キ予ハ著者ガ幕末外交史ノ研

タルヌ失ハズ

當時外交ノ真相ニ關シテハ外人ノ著書少
ナカラズ然レドモ邦人ノ英文ヲ以テ之ヲ
叙セルハ我ガ佐藤顯理氏ノ舊著 *Agitated Japan*
ヲ以テ其嚆矢トス曩ニ同書ノ出ヅルヤ予
ハ同氏ノ勞ヲ多シトシ且ツ始メテ予ト憂
ヲ同ジウスルヲ知リヌ但同書ハ井伊大老
ノ事蹟ヲ中心トシタルヲ以テ時ノ外交ノ
一面ヲ見ルベクシテ他ノ一面ヲ閑却スル

序

堀田閣老ハ幕末ノ偉人也。鎮國攘夷ノ議紛
紛トシテ歸スル所ヲ知ラザルノ時ニ際シ
深ク内外ノ趨勢ニ鑑ミテ開國ノ大義ヲ首
唱シ能ク難局ニ處シテ米國ノ使臣ト樽俎
折衝ノ任ニ膺リ以テ國家百年ノ大計ヲ誤
ラザルヲ得タリ。晚年其議大ニ用ヒラレズ
却テ禍ヲ買フニ至レリト雖モ着眼ノ警抜
ニシテ主張ノ堅實ナル幕末獨歩ノ政治家

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日本國米利堅合衆國修

徳川氏の幕府に忠勤を抽んでつる人を
敬慕せよと認め給ひし

祖母上

母上

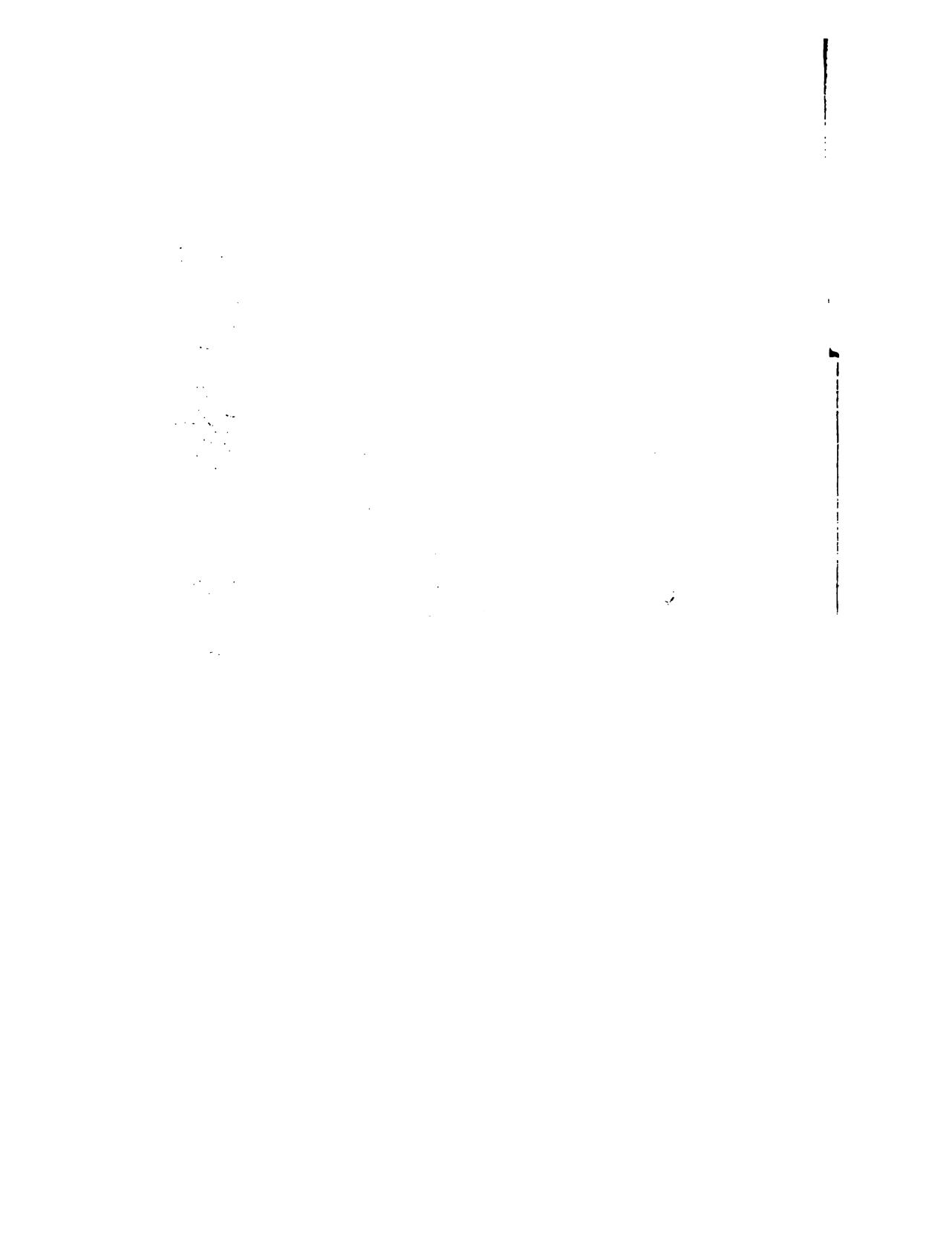
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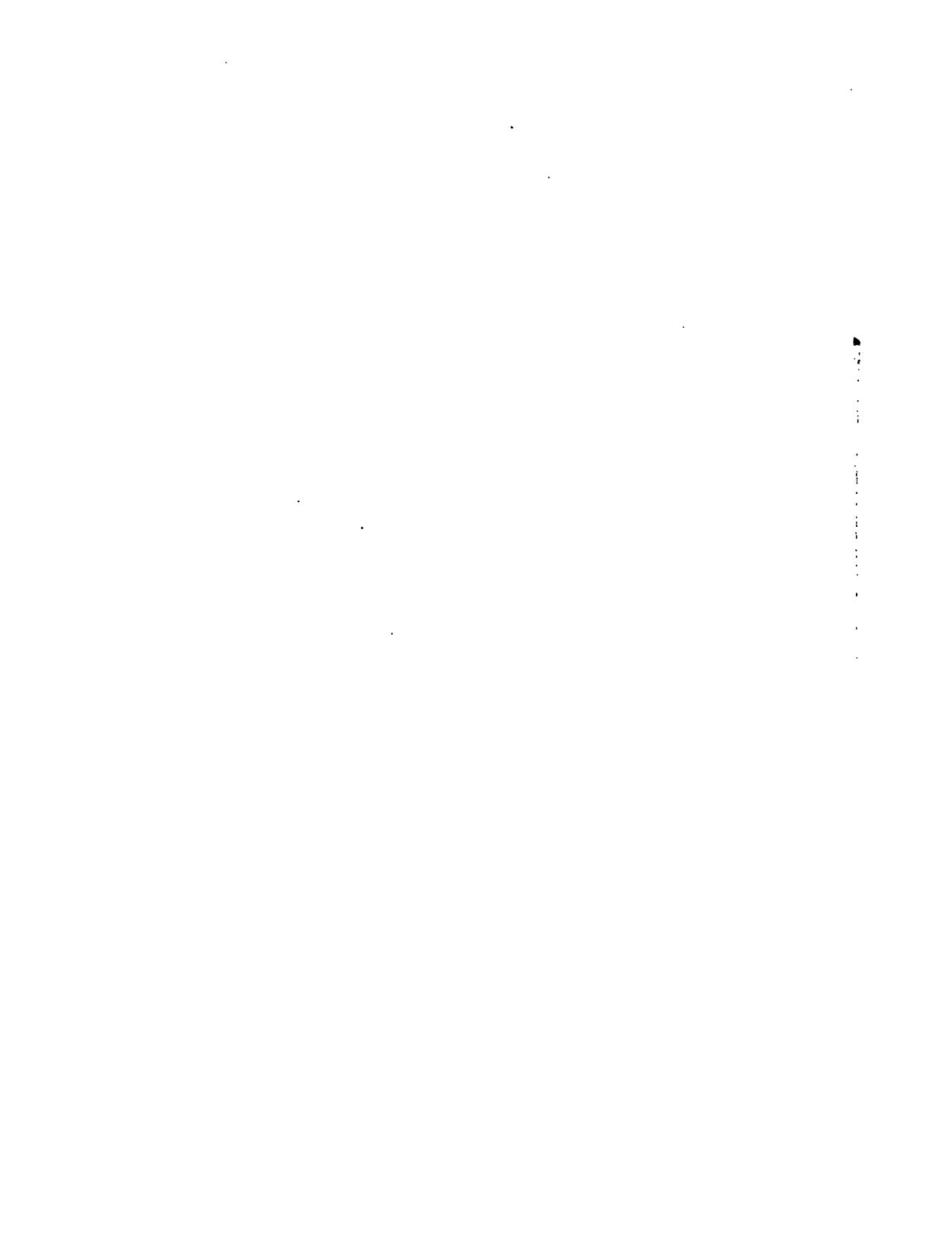
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近者佐藤顯理氏一日予ヲ訪ウテ英文堀田
閣老傳起草中ナルヲ告ゲ更ニ越エテ三旬
同書既ニ脱稿シテ削廁ニ附スル正ニ近キ
ニ在ルヲ聞キ予ハ著者ガ幕末外交史ノ研



To

Professor Payson Jackson Treat

with the compliments of the

author

Henry Satoh.

Tokio

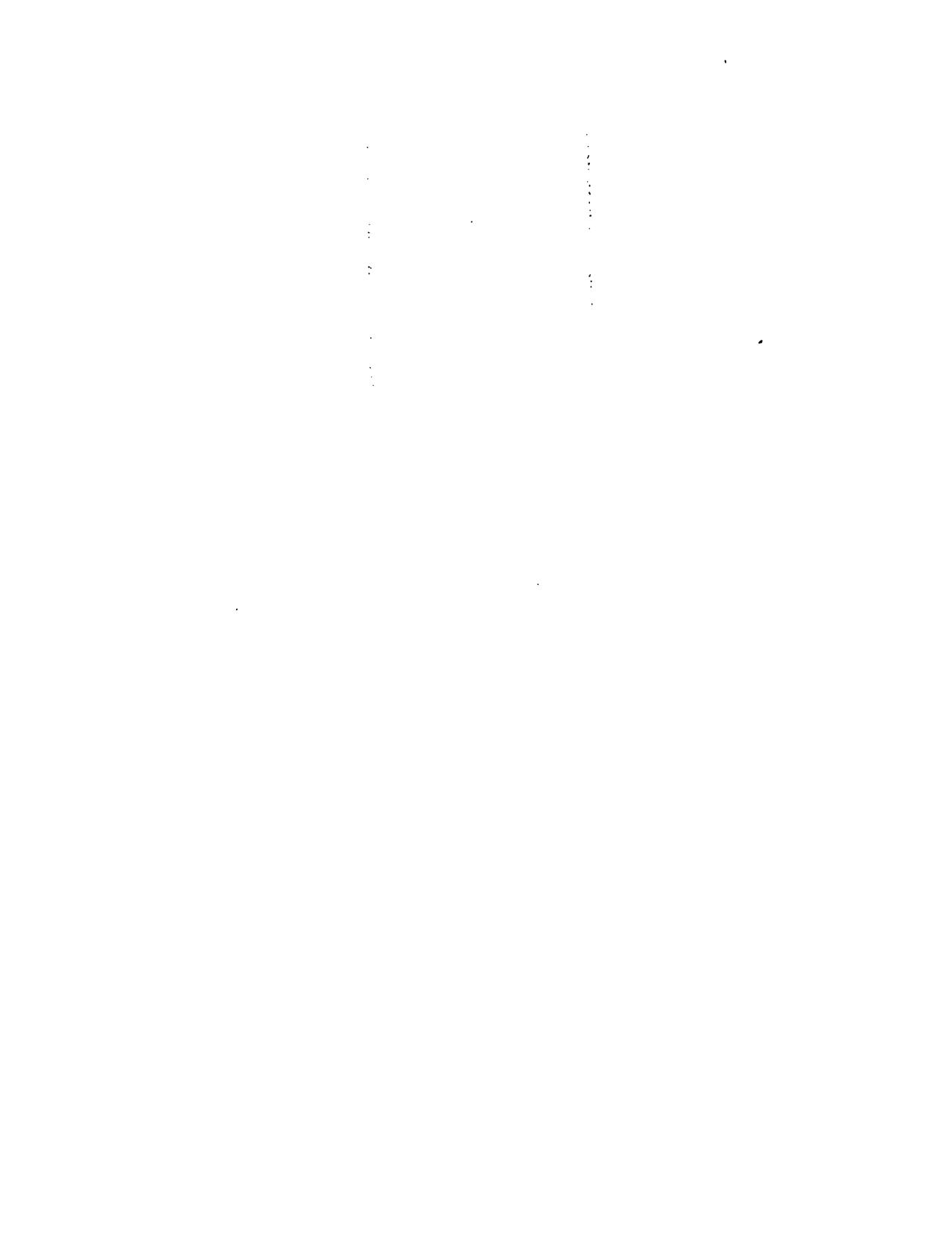
June 14th 1912.

タルヲ失ハズ

當時外交ノ眞相ニ關シテハ外人ノ著書少
ナカラズ然レドモ邦人ノ英文ヲ以テ之ヲ
叙セルハ我ガ佐藤顯理氏ノ舊著 *Agitated Japan*
ヲ以テ其嚆矢トス曩ニ同書ノ出ヅルヤ予
ハ同氏ノ勞ヲ多シトシ且ツ始メテ予ト憂
ヲ同ジウスルヲ知リヌ但同書ハ井伊大老
ノ事蹟ヲ中心トシタルヲ以テ時ノ外交ノ
一面ヲ見ルベクシテ他ノ一面ヲ閑却スル

序

堀田閣老ハ幕末ノ偉人也鎖國攘夷ノ議紛
紛トシテ歸スル所ヲ知ラザルノ時ニ際シ
深ク内外ノ趨勢ニ鑑ミテ開國ノ大義ヲ首
唱シ能ク難局ニ處シテ米國ノ使臣ト樽俎
折衝ノ任ニ膺リ以テ國家百年ノ大計ヲ誤
ラザルヲ得タリ晩年其議大ニ用ヒラレズ
却テ禍ヲ買フニ至レリト雖モ着眼ノ警拔
ニシテ主張ノ堅實ナル幕末獨歩ノ政治家



徳川氏の幕府に忠勤を抽んでつる人を
敬慕せよと誠め給ひし

祖母上

母上

へ紀念として此一書を獻す

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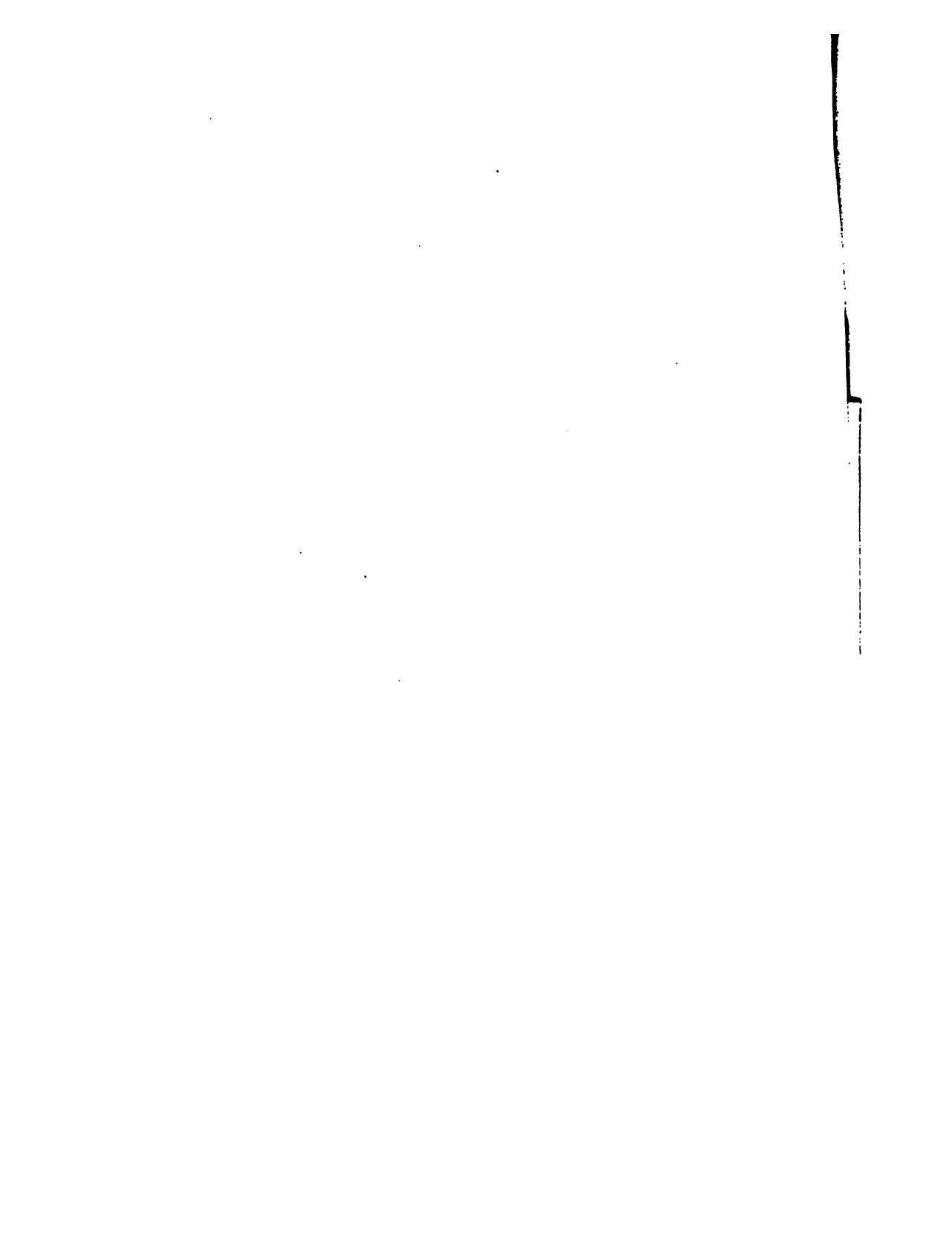
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To

Professor Payson Jackson Treat

with the compliments of the

author

Henry Satoh.

Tokio

June 14th 1912.

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